THE CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

Devoted to the Economic, Political and Social Development of China and its Intercourse with Other Nations

The American Chamber Of Commerce And Its Attitude On The China Situation

許密勒論報

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1927

THIRTY CENTS A COPY

Vol. XL No. 10.

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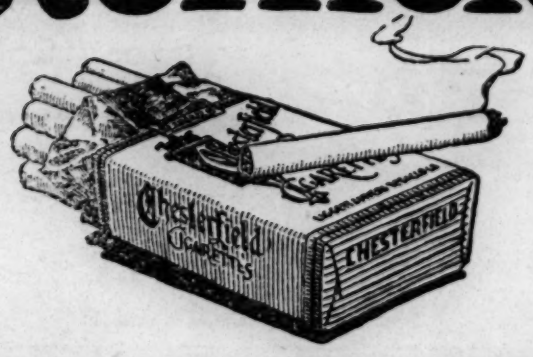

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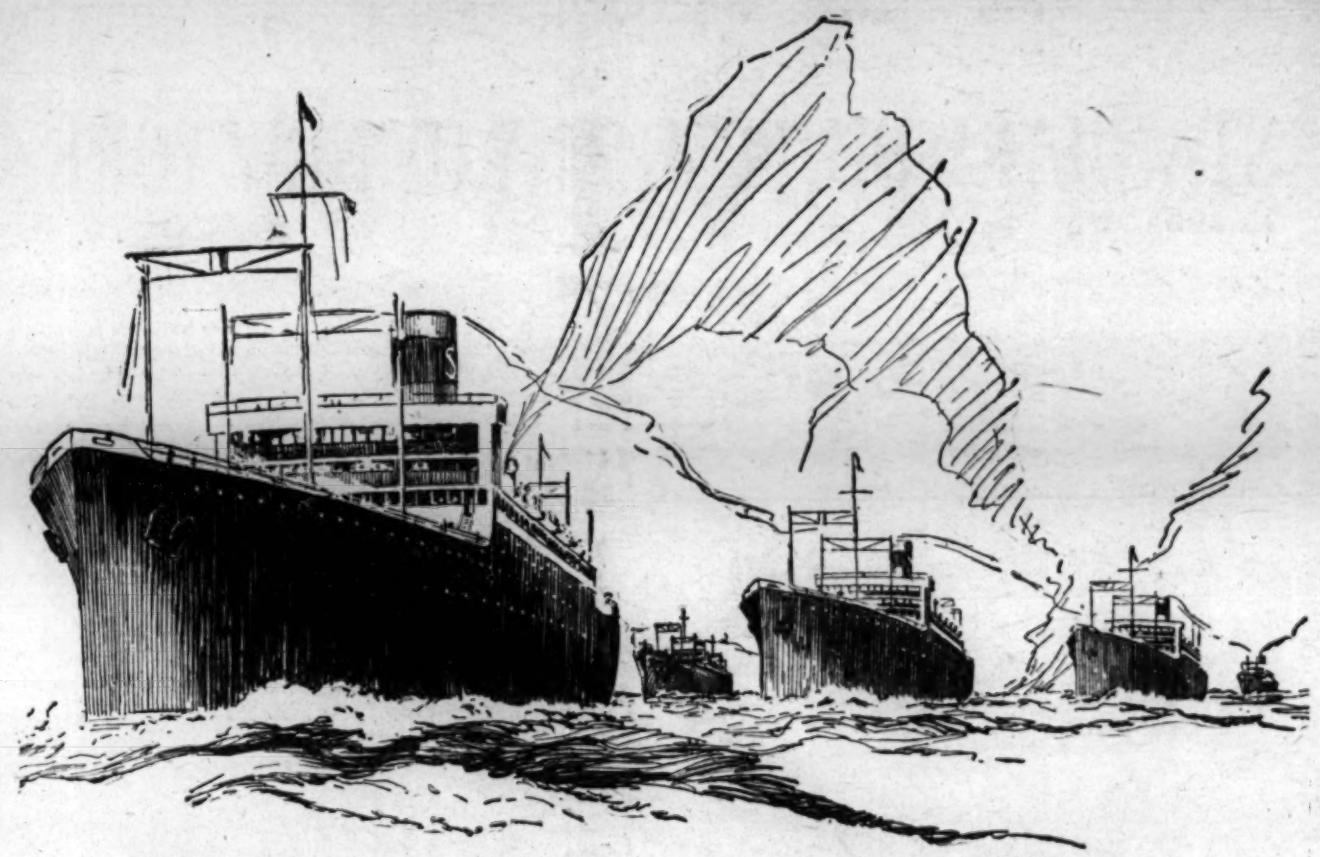

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

Formerly Millard's Review

中華郵政特准掛號立參之報紙

Registered at the Chinese Post Office as a Newspaper for transmission with special marks privileges in China

VOLUME XL — SHANGHAI, CHINA, SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1927 — NUMBER 10

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

Formerly Millard's Review

Cable Address "REVIEWING SHANGHAI"

PUBLISHED AT NO. 4 AVENUE EDWARD VII, SHANGHAI CHINA, BY MILLARD PUBLISHING COMPANY, INCORPORATED BY THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

J. B. POWELL, Editor and Publisher
LIZEN SCHENG, Advertising Manager
YU NING-WEI, Assistant Advertising Manager.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

HOLLINGTON K. TONG, H. F. MACNAIR,
HIN WONG, (Canton) BRUNO SCHWARTZ (Hankow)
CHAS. A. DAILEY (Peking) PEI-YU CHIEN,
WM. STEPHEN WANG (Tientsin) H. P. SHASTRI
SAMUEL H. CHANG (S'hai) LAWRENCE IMPEY (Peking)

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, TEN DOLLARS (CHINESE CURRENCY) IN ADVANCE, POSTAGE INCLUDED IN CHINA AND JAPAN. IN THE UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES SEVEN DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS U. S. CURRENCY. REMITTANCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES THAN CHINA AND THE U. S. CAN BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER IN THE CHINESE POST OFFICE AT SHANGHAI IN MAY 1917.

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COMMUNICATIONS PERTAINING TO SUBSCRIPTIONS OR ADVERTISING IN CHINA SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW AT 4 AVENUE EDWARD VII, SHANGHAI, CHINA. TELEPHONE CENTRAL 4741. CABLE ADDRESS "REVIEWING SHANGHAI."

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HOW TO SETTLE THE SHANGHAI DEADLOCK!

THERE ARE two ways of settling the deadlock which exists in respect to the International Settlement of Shanghai. One way would be for the Powers, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities to create a sort of super-government here which would be directly responsible to the Powers and China which would have the effect of amalgamating the International Settlement and the French Concession and the adjoining areas into a sort of 'Greater Shanghai.' This super-Government would have an equal number of Chinese and foreigners with a Chinese chairman appointed by the Chinese Government and would serve as a sort of Senate, but leaving the local administrations in the various areas intact but circumscribing their activities to purely local affairs. This would serve to prevent future conflicts between the foreign areas and the Chinese and would gradually lead to a liquidation of the local foreign administrations, particularly the Shanghai Municipal Council, which has been responsible for most of the recent troubles between Chinese and foreigners. To bring about such a change in the local government here would necessarily take considerable time owing to the negotiations among the Powers and the Chinese authorities.

THEREFORE, we suggest the second plan, which would be more simple. Have the American and Japanese members of the Shanghai Municipal Council resign, which would have the effect of making the Shanghai Municipal Council exclusively British and hence amenable to the British authorities. The British could then proceed toward an adjustment of the status of the Settlement to meet the desires of the Chinese somewhat in accordance with what has been accomplished at Hankow and Tientsin. Experience has shown that the French Concession at Shanghai has had less trouble in adjusting its relations with the Chinese than has had the International Settlement. The chief reason for this has been due to the fact that the French Government alone is responsible for the French Concession and if the Chinese have grievances they know where to go to obtain redress. In the International Settlement there is no such responsible authority. When the British are pressed for readjustments they always fall back on the 'international' character of the Settlement and when the Americans or Japanese are pressed they fall back on the argument that the Settlement is primarily British. When the Shanghai Municipal Council is approached, it points to the Consular Body as the controlling authority, but as Dr. Manley O. Hudson, who has been making a study of the situation here points out in an article

which follows these paragraphs, the Consular Body has no real authority and the Shanghai Municipal Council is responsible neither to the local residents nor to the Consular Body. Obviously the Powers are not going to continue sending military and naval forces here to protect their nationals when the Powers have nothing to say in adjusting the real cause of Sino-foreign animosities, which exists here.

DR. HUDSON'S ANALYSIS OF THE SHANGHAI PROBLEM

DR. MANLEY O. HUDSON, professor of international Law at Harvard and a member of the League of Nations, who has been in Shanghai for several weeks investigating the local situation, is a native of the State of Missouri and a graduate of the University of Missouri. He served on the House Commission which preceded the Paris Peace Conference and since the Peace Conference has served on numerous commissions which have assisted in adjusting problems growing out of the World War, among them being the Commission on Ports, Waterways and Railways, Commission on German Counter-Proposals, Commission on New States and Protection of Minorities, Commission on the Port of Kiel, Legal Adviser to the International Labor Conference at Washington, International Conference on Russian Refugees, etc. And in addition to his other duties he is editor of the American Journal of International Law, surely sufficient to lend weight to his conclusions regarding the problem of Shanghai. Dr. Hudson's statement which was issued in the form of an interview handed to the local press and correspondents of foreign newspapers, was as follows:

"A visitor must admire the splendid city which the foreigners and Chinese have united to build under foreign control. No place in the world is more interesting to a student of international law and politics. Tangier is the nearest competitor but it is on a much smaller scale. Alexandria has some of the some problems, but the predominance of a single foreign Power in Egypt has simplified them.

"One thing that stands out in Shanghai is the apparent difference between the attitude of the local Chinese toward the International Settlement and their attitude toward the French Concession which adjoins it. I think it would be a mistake for one to conclude that international administration is always less efficient than national administration. But in the local situation that conclusion seems to me inescapable. Certainly two recent problems—with respect to Chinese representation and Chinese admission to the parks—have given far less difficulty in the French Concession than in the International Settlement.

"Much stress is now laid on the international character of the Settlement. But my study of the situation has led me to think that its control is more international in name than in fact. The Consular Body has not enough authority to be called the real governing power. And it seems to me inevitable that the present degree of irresponsibility in the *local government* should not be permitted to continue indefinitely. It is neither responsible to the residents of Shanghai nor to the governments of the Powers. The interests of the inhabitants call for some reorganization, and certainly the Powers cannot rest content with their present helplessness in a situation in aid of which demands are continuously made upon them.

"It is unlikely that this problem can receive attention while claims for reparation are pending elsewhere in China. But it is to be hoped that these claims will soon be satisfied and that the way will be opened for a determined effort on the part of the Powers to remove the causes which have led to Chinese hostility and opposition. Intervention in China seems to me unthinkable, and no one stands to gain from a stalemate of armed forces entrenched behind barricades. The first opportunity ought to be seized, even if the negotiations must be conducted with several Chinese governments simultaneously. If it is desirable that the Powers should act together, it is because their action is being directed toward increased understanding.

"Meanwhile the shock of Nanking and consequent demands for drastic measures, render constructive action more difficult. The foreign community at Shanghai has such extensive interests at stake that it ought to be the first to be ready with constructive proposals. But the local press seems to have become so intransigeant and it so persistently goads the Chinese that I fear the solution must come from other quarters. Perhaps the situation is better understood in Washington and London."

Dr. C. J. Fox to Defend Russians Held by Fengtien Militarists

Dr. C. J. Fox, American attorney of Tientsin and Peking and publisher of *The North China Star*, American paper in Tientsin, has volunteered his services to defend the members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Peking who were arrested some time ago in the course of a raid upon the Soviet Embassy which was conducted by Marshal Chang Tso-ling, the Fengtien militarist. Dr. Fox will also defend the Russians who were kidnapped by Gen. Chang Chung-chang, Fengtien tupan of Shantung when White Russians on the staff of Gen. Chang raided the Soviet steamer, Pamiat Lenina at Pukow several weeks ago. Among those kidnapped at Pukow were Mrs. Borodin, wife of the Soviet adviser to the Hankow Government and three couriers attached to the Soviet Consulate-General at Shanghai. These prisoners are being held without trial at Tsinanfu, the capital of Shantung Province.

In a statement issued at the time he accepted the case, Dr. Fox declared that these cases are of vital interest to all liberal-minded Chinese and foreigners in the Far East. In the first place, the members of the Soviet Embassy staff in Peking are supposed to be immune from arrest and would be immune in any civilized country on the face of the earth. But in view of the fact that Marshal Chang Tso-ling has announced that they are to be tried in a special court, it is up to the Chinese to demonstrate their stand in respect to the private rights of foreigners in China who do not enjoy extraterritorial privileges. The Chinese generally have been demanding the abolition of extraterritoriality. Now they have an opportunity to show to the world whether foreigners, resident in China without special protective privileges, can receive a square deal.

"It is highly necessary," said Dr. Fox, "that influential Chinese and foreigners should either demand the liberation of these unfortunate Russians or that they be given a fair and normal trial."

An Appeal To British Labor Party

The Shanghai Federation of Labor Organizations, May 2, sent the following telegram to Ramsay MacDonald, head of the British Labor Party, London: "Huge mass meeting in Shanghai May First unanimously passed resolutions pledging support to the Nanking Government and opposing constant deliberate impairment of China's sovereignty and violation of International law, daily flights by British military airplanes over Chinese territory without sanction of our government; also demanding withdrawal of British troops in view of establishment of law and order by our Government which has now restored normal conditions in this area the presence of foreign troops is oppressive and provocative. We request justice."

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Head Office—Shanghai.

Shanghai, 28th April 1927.

The China Weekly Review,
4 Avenue Edward VII,
Shanghai.

Dear Sir,

With reference to the advertising contract between this Company and yourselves dated 1st January 1927, we have decided to exercise our right to terminate the said contract under the terms of the Clause therein relating to the publication of matter in the advertising medium which would cause the advertiser, if not under contract, to refrain from advertising in the advertising medium.

We, therefore, hereby give you notice that the said contract is terminated forthwith and that no further advertisements of our goods thereunder are to be published in any subsequent issue of your Review.

Yours faithfully,
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W. S. BUNGEY.
Advertising Manager.

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Editor's Note:—The clause in the B. A. T. Advertising contract, which all publishers are required to sign, regardless of nationality, reads as follows:

> "That in the event of the advertising medium publishing matter which would cause the advertiser, if not under contract, to refrain from advertising in the advertising medium, the advertiser shall be entitled to terminate this Contract forthwith by notice in writing to the publisher."

Previous to the anti-British boycott, following the May 30, 1925 incidents in Shanghai, when practically all of the Chinese newspapers refused to publish the advertisements of the B. A. T. this clause in the contract read somewhat differently from the foregoing as the following shows:

> "That in the event of the advertising medium adopting an *anti-British tone* or publishing matter which would cause the advertiser if not under contract, to refrain from advertising in the advertising medium, the advertiser shall be entitled to terminate this Contract forthwith by notice in writing to the publisher."

We assume the public both in China and abroad will be interested in this attempt on the part of a great British corporation, to muzzle editorial opinion in China.

This Advertisement Inserted Gratis By The China Weekly Review

The American Chamber of Commerce And The China Weekly Review

THE AMERICAN Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai at its annual meeting held on Tuesday, April 26, upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors passed a resolution expressing disapproval of certain editorials which have appeared in *The China Weekly Review* and in consequence of their disapproval, asked *The Review* to resign from the Chamber. Under Section 1 of Article 2 of the constitution of the American Chamber, the following paragraph appears:

> "The Chamber may suspend or expel any member for dishonorable conduct or dealings, but only after a hearing of such member at a regular or special meeting of the Chamber, and by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided, that the Board of Directors shall recommend such suspension or expulsion, and that due notice be given by the Secretary of the Chamber, both to the accused member and to the membership at large, of the day when such hearing may be had; and also provided, that if the accused does not appear for such hearing, in person or by proxy, the vote may be taken on his suspension or expulsion as though he had appeared."

IN VIEW of the fact that Mr. J. B. Powell, editor of *The Review*, who was present at the annual meeting of the Chamber, had received no previous notice of the contemplated action of the Board of the Directors he naturally protested the action of the Chamber in adopting the resolution calling for the resignation of *The China Weekly Review*, as being contrary to the Chamber's constitution and also to general practice in matters of this kind. In view of the obvious irregularity of the proceedings which had all of the earmarks of being "framed," Mr. Powell naturally refused to resign from the Chamber and also refused to change the policy of *The Review* in accordance with the wishes of the Directors of the Chamber. In a brief talk at the meeting, following the presentation of the resolution, Mr. Powell explained that he had received no previous notice that such a resolution was to be presented hence was in no position to go into a detailed discussion of the question. On the general matter of the policy of *The China Weekly Review* in respect to questions prevailing in this part of the world, Mr. Powell explained that he had always attempted to explain and interpret American policy toward China; that he considered this to be his duty as the editor of an American newspaper in Shanghai. He explained that he realized that the views expressed in *The China Weekly Review* did not always conform to the prevailing opinion in Shanghai, particularly the British press, but despite this he insisted that he had the right to express his views on the many vital questions now pressing for settlement in the Far East. He did not dispute the right of the Chamber to disagree with the opinions of *The Review* and expressed willingness to resign from the Chamber if the Chamber felt that it was embarassed because of his membership, but he did most emphatically object and protest against the action of the Board of Directors of the Chamber in not giving him previous notice, which was a plain violation of the Constitution of the Chamber. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Powell referred to criticisms of *The China Weekly Review* which had appeared in the editorial and correspondence columns of the *North-China Daily News*, the official British newspaper in Shanghai and accused the Board of Directors of the Chamber of following the British lead in attacking the editorial policy of *The China Weekly Review*, which was opposed to American intervention into the internal political affairs of China. Mr. Powell also called attention to recent news dispatches from Peking and Washington indicating that President Coolidge was opposed to intervention, which tended to prove that the policy of *The Review* did accord with American policy which was against intervention and which was in direct opposition to the policy of the British newspaper which favored intervention. The Chairman of the Chamber, Mr. F. F. Fairman, however disavowed Mr. Powell's allegation that its action had been influenced by the *North-China Daily News*, stating that the resolution had been prepared several days previously to the attack on *The Review* which had appeared in the British paper. The answer to this naturally is, that if the resolution had been prepared so many days in advance, why was it kept secret that such action was contemplated until it was "sprung" at the annual meeting in violation of the Chamber's constitution?

IN A WRITTEN statement issued to the local press following the meeting of the Chamber, Mr. Powell, editor of *The Review* made the following declaration regarding his intentions and also referring to the general matter of American policy toward China as espoused by *The Review*. This statement appeared in our last week's issue, but is repeated here in order to clear up any possible misunderstanding regarding the position of *The Review* which may exist:

> "The action of the American Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai in asking the resignation of the *China Weekly Review* will not result in that magazine tendering its resignation or changing its policy. As I understand the action of the Chamber, it was an expression of disapproval of the policy of the magazine and not a personal matter. I also would point out that it was not an expulsion or a suspension, which can only result from dishonorable conduct, with which it was made plain I am in no manner charged. Moreover, the request for my resignation is not compulsory.
>
> "On the larger matter of American policy toward China which has been expressed in *The China Weekly Review*, and with which the Chamber appears to be in opposition, I certainly have no intention whatever of changing my views, which are, that the American people have no business or interest in intervening in the internal political affairs of the Chinese people. The American Chamber of Commerce apparently believes in involving America in complications in this part of the world which, in my opinion, may be far reaching even to the extent of another world war.
>
> "American policy toward China has always been predicated on the Open Door of equal opportunity and the policy of Roosevelt as indicated in the return of the Boxer Indemnity, not to mention the serious efforts of former Secretary Hughes in trying to bring about a new deal in the Orient through the Washington Conference. American interests in the Far East would be best served by a strong, united and democratic China. I believe the Chinese have a right to the expression of their views as well as have the Americans, the British or anybody else, and as long as I am engaged in the publication of an American newspaper in Shanghai, it is my intention to give them a square deal along with other nationals interested in the vital questions involved in this part of the world."

OWING TO the fact that a considerable number of persons have expressed approval of *The Review's* position in respect to the attitude of the Chamber of Commerce, we are inclined to view the incident in charitable vein and attribute it to the actions of a few individuals who either are not in accord with American policy in this part of the world as interpreted in the columns of *The Review*, or who have been influenced by pressure brought by non-American interests with the purpose of embarassing or counteracting the influence of this publication. Owing to the interest which the incident has aroused, we are reprinting herewith some of the letters which we have received on the subject, the names being deleted, but which are available at the office of *The Review* in case anyone cares to inspect them:

Shanghai, April 28, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—I write just to express appreciation of the foresight, point of view and judgment in your recent writings. I have sent three copies of your letter, "Is It Better To Be Shot or Starve to Death" to England, two copies going to members of Parliament.

Last week I gave an order for two copies of your paper to be sent abroad for three months. The attitude of the *North-China Daily News*, and of many British and American business men, is not to improve international good will.

Go to it! You are doing fine work. As a Britisher, I desire you to know I deplore the press attacks on you and entirely back your policy. More power to your elbow.

A WELL-WISHER

Shanghai, April 26, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—I cannot help writing to congratulate you on your yesterday's letter to the *Daily News*. The case could not have been put better. As the *Daily News* could, of course, not answer it, they had to resort to the time honored method of abusing the writer.

BRITON
(Formerly in Official Life)

Shanghai, April 28, 1927.

My dear Mr. Powell:—I have been looking for a medium of opinion on the Chinese situation which does not slavishly follow the dictates of British or other commercial interests to the exclusion of other more human considerations. I am glad to know that you are giving a fair deal to the Chinese point of view and have the courage to stand independent against the uniformitarianism of war psychology. That is the kind of fair-deal attitude which, coupled with ability, I have sought an expression of to send home. I owe my happy discovery to the recent action of the American Chamber of Commerce. Enclosed find five dollars for subscription. Do you send back numbers to lists of addresses from your office. Please quote rates. With enthusiastic congratulations.

(An American) P. R. B.,

French Concession, Shanghai, April 28,1927.

Dear Mr. Powell: This is to inform you that I am as a reader of the China Weekly Review fully sympathisizing with you for the unreasonable action taken recently by American Chamber of Commerce here. If the members of the Chamber were broadminded enough they would be able to realize that their position is detrimental to American business. At present their sound reasoning is influenced by selfihness and prejudice.

As the existing conditions in Mexico are parallel with China and the United States Government has not endeavored an armed intervention yet and why should she use force in China?

It is the plain fact that during the progress of the revolution the Nationalist Government is short of able men who have experiences for constructive work, but the time will come for the right men to become responsible administratively to put the country in order again. All the sane Chinese are sick of the present turmoil hence the present state of the country will soon result in peace and order according to Chinese traditions.

A PROMINENT CHINESE PHYSICIAN

Shanghai, April 28, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—I can't resist sending you a note at the present time. It seems that all of us out here get so panicky that we rather lose ou hɹɐpds—that is how the Chamber's action strikes me, At any rate that's how I feel and I am sure all of your friends feel the same.

AMERICAN WOMAN RESIDENT OF SHANGHAI

Shanghai, April 28, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—It may not mean much to you to have a member of a Missionary organization say that he admires the stand you took at the American Chamber of Commerce the other day. Whatever the views of the members of the Chamber may be on the present situation in China, they have done a most un-democratic (I cannot say un-American) thing in trying to muzzle you. How can we claim to be the land of the free when such events can take place? But we are still the home of the brave.

MISSIONARY

Shanghai, April 27, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—You did a fine piece of work at the meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce and I want to assure you that the better elements in the Chinese community are for you and will stand by you. If any of the American firms are so short sighted as to withdraw their advertising from your paper, I am sure the Chinese business community will more than make up for your loss.

A CHINESE MANUFACTURER

Shanghai, April 27, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—I am passing on to you a compliment which I heard expressed in one of the prominent Shanghai club bars, which was to the effect that you were being given credit for blocking American intervertion in China. You may have had a little to do with it, but to give you full credit is illustrative of the ignorance of world conditions which is prevalent in certain high places in Shanghai. I do not always agree with what you write but *The Review* comes nearer expressing the real situation than any other foreign publication in Shanghai. If the State Department followed the advice of the American chambers of commerce scattered over the world, we would have a hell of a foreign policy.

PROMINENT AMERICAN BUSINESS MAN
(Not connected with Chamber of Commerce)

Shanghai, April 27, 1927.

Dear Mr Powell,

I see the Babbitts are breathing sulphur-gas over you. Good work. They couldn't give you a better boost. A man is known by the enemies he makes.

I liked your editorials and have already sent home some similar stuff—free-lance contributions as counter-propaganda to the hokum sent out of here by the raving realtors.

Keep up the good work.

AMERICAN PROFESSIONAL MAN

Shanghai, April 27, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—Am sending you herewith $5 for a six months' subscription to the *China Weekly Review* to be sent to the enclosed list of subscribers. Send your shroff around to the others. We want to show you our appreciation of your editorials for "fair play" in Chinese affairs. "Honesty is the best policy" applies in journalism as well as in the other professions. Your *Review* has followed that policy to a very marked degree. I have every confidence that every Chinese and fair minded foreigner will rally to your support for a fair presentation and comment on facts of the China situation and mutual cooperation for a better understanding between Chinese and foreigners.

PROMINENT CHINESE ATTORNEY

Shanghai, April 27, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell: Your friends will be rallying to your side, after yesterday's surprise attack. I want to be included in those who have been grateful for the kind of things you have been saying in the Review, for which you are now being censured by the powers that be! I have said repeatedly that yours was the one liberal voice which was being raised in this city from foreign papers. I have had much delight in watching your handling of the "irresponsible" body, the Municipal Council!

This is a personal note of gratitude: but it expresses not only my own opinion but that of several other people who have had equal cause to be grateful to you in the past weeks.

BRITISH WOMAN RESIDENT OF SHANGHAI

Shanghai, April 28, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:

I have just read in the *North China Daily News* the report of the action of the American Chamber of Commerce regarding your relations with that body. I write to express my sympathy and sincere regret that this action has been taken. I knew absolutely nothing about it yesterday when we were talking. I hope the matter can be straightened out in some amicable way.

I must confess that I am not suprised that considerable exception has been taken to your position as expressed in the Weekly Review in recent months. I have been wanting for several weeks to have a long talk with you on the subject. I hope we can get together during the next few days.

Again with regret that this matter has been allowed to proceed so far. I remain.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY

Shanghai, April 27, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—Having read in the *North-China Daily News* this morning that your paper was attacked by the American Chamber of Commerce, owing to the fact that the Chamber does not agree with your American policy, we want you to know that the Chinese while not always agreeing with you, do however generally support your attitude of fairness. We hope that the vexation will not interfere with a continuance of your work. Although you are being attacked by a little group of reactionary "die-hards" at present you must know that you are receiving the sympathy and support of a majority of the thinking people and you will win out at last.

WELL KNOWN CHINESE NEWS AGENCY

Shanghai, April 27, 1927.

My Dear Mr. Powell:

I am very sorry to learn the trouble you are now having with the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai and wish to console you that in spite of oppositions against the *Review*, you have the satisfactien to know that you are defending a great and worthy cause. As a Chinese and friend of yours, I should like to show my appreciation for the fair and courageous statements recently published in the editorial colmuns of the Review. I appreciate these, not because they tend to be in favor of the Chinese, but because they are counsels of wisdom and vindications of justice.

To be great and known, one has tb have both friends and enemies and in the very attacks now being leveled on you, you may as well sufficiently realise the influence you are wielding in Shanghai. On account of pressure of my duties, I much regret that I have not time to read all your editorial comments, but I have seen their translations in the Chinese papers here and am much pleased with them.

By the way, I should like to point out to you that popularity with Justice and one-quarter of the living and civilised human race of the world is an honor to be envied and a greater asset to you than any amount of good opinion of a handful of reactionary commercial die-hards especially of the specie found in this Headquarters of Occidental Imperialism.

CHINESE NEWSPAPERMAN

Shanghai, April 28, 1927

Dear Mr. Powell:

This is just a note to express my sympathy with you in regard to the present situation in which you find yourself. I feel strongly that you, like others of us, are up against an utterly undemocratic situation. Furthermore, I find myself quite inclined to agree with your general position. I do not see any hope of a lasting settlement of existing difficulties except along the line of conciliation as you have proposed. I do not understand that such a line of conciliation would mean that either side gives up everything or secures everything. Personally I hope that you will be able to continue your policy.

I am not sure that this letter is of any particular help, but I felt like writing you in any event.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY

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My dear Mr. Powell:—May I extend to you my heartiest congratulations for the stand you took in protesting against the Powers' so-called "Defense Activities" in China, and particularly in respect to the Shanghai Settlements. Your article in *The China Weekly Review* is in full accord with President Coolidge's speech on April 25 and with America's historic policy, i. e. the Open Door. It is truly unfortunate that the American Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai, at its last meeting, took action deviating from the policy advocated by the highest authority at Washington. Such action, if persistently pursued, will certainly nullify the friendly spirit of the Chinese people, which is the American merchant's best asset and may bring results detrimental to American economic interests in China.

I certainly hope that our American friends will soon see your point of view and that your opinions will not be a 'voice in the wilderness' but will ultimately be regarded as the most valuable advice in this time of stress.

Permit me to congratulate you again both for your insight and for your foresight as a sympathetic observer of Far Eastern politics. We feel all the more proud through having had such an upright friend as once a lecturer at our University.

DEAN, ONE OF THE LEADING CHINESE UNIVERSTIES.

Shanghai, April 29, 1927.

My Dear Mr. Powell:—I have been following with great interest the proceedings of the American Chamber of Commerce and the attacks on the policy of *The China Weekly Review*. I wish to say that there are some Americans whose views are not expressed by the American Chamber of Commerce and who thoroughly appreciate your attitude toward the Chinese.

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Wishing you the greatest success in your courageous efforts to interpret this difficult situation.

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(Member of Faculty of Local College for Chinese)

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Dear Mr. Powell:—I wish to congratulate you on your firm stand for the right course. We are with you in spirit and we are trying to help you and *The China Weekly Review* in every possible way.

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Dear Mr. Powell:—This is just to let you know of one more American who does not think you have been betraying your country's honor or interests in the stand you are taking at the present time. It is fine to be in a position of influence in China today and to be able to keep your head when so many are losing theirs—and blaming it all on you!

There are a good many of us who are rejoicing in America's failure to cooperate with the Powers in taking "stong action" against China, and we know that your attitude is having its weight in the saner councils of the Nation. Perhaps we have more patience with China because we are better informed about what the Chinese have suffered in our own couutry in past times, and also because we have more imagination.

AMERICAN WOMAN MEMBER OF LOCAL COLLEGE FACULTY

Shanghai, April 28, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—The worst phase of the attitude of the American Chamber of Commerce is the method they used in violating their own constitution in not giving you prior warning of their contemplated action—and to think this is the same American Chamber of Commerce which you and Mr. J. Harold Dollar built up through many years of effort and without payment for your services.

AMERICAN MERCHANT
(Not a Member of the Chamber)

Shanghai, April 28, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—It is certainly surprising to learn that the American Chamber of Commerce should have taken such imperialistic action against your editorial policy of conciliation and fairness.

OFFICIAL OF LARGE CHINESE PUBLISHING CONCERN

The Shanghai Journalists' Association including practically all Chinese editors and newspapermen in Shanghai on Friday, April 29 published a statement in all of the Chinese newspapers expressing approval of the stand of Mr. Powell in refusing to permit the American Chamber of Commerce to interfere with the policies of *The China Weekly Review* The statement, which is too long for reproduction here states that while the actions of the British have not been unexpected, that the action of the American Chamber of Commerce, composed of the business representatives of the United States of America, created considerable surprise and wonderment in Chinese circles. The statement said in effect that Mr. Powell's statement of American policy toward China, had created respect among the Chinese people for America despite the efforts of members of the American Chamber of Commerce in discrediting their own organization and their country by advocating a policy contrary to that which had been announced by President Coolidge.

Shanghai, April 30, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—I want to write to you just a brief note to convey to you my sympathy for the unpleasant experience that you passed through at the meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce. More than that, I want also to congratulate you for the heroic stand that you have made in the interest of fair-play and a righteous policy. It is regrettable that persecution is frequently the reward of men of moral courage and prophetic power. Mav you keep up your good work and be assured of the whole-hearted support of the men of sound judgment in all countries.

PROMINENT CHINESE RESIDENT
OF SHANGHAI.

Shanghai, May 2, 1927.

My dear Mr. Powell:—Our feelings have been greatly stirred by your experiences with the American Chamber of Commerce, and we are unanimously of the opinion that you have done a great service to China and to your own country by maintaining a policy of non-intervention toward China's internal affairs in the editorials in the your *China Weekly Review.* We all admire you personally, your valor and your uprightness.

What you have done will always live in our memory and you may be assured that we never foreget our best friend who has faced persecution and underhanded treatment bravely.

SECRETARY, ONE OF THE
LARGE GUILDS SUPPLYING PRODUCTS
TO THE UNITED STATES.

In addition to the foregoing letters from Americans, Britons and Chinese in Shanghai. *The Review* is also in receipt of many letters from readers in the United States expressing approval of opinions which have been expressed either in *The Review* or in *The Chicago Tribune*, for which the writer is correspondent in Shanghai. Among the recent letters are the following:

Evanston, Ill., April 3, 1927.

I do not believe there is any correspondent in China doing a more careful piece of reporting than Mr. J. B. Powell of *The Tribune.*

C. E. TAYLOR

Washington, D. C. April 1, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—It seems to us from this distance that Chinese nationalism is bound to win in the long run. Is it not true that we should proceed at the earliest possible moment to negotiate new treaties with the Chinese? Americans in general, I believe, are intensely sympathetic with legitimate Chinese aspirations. These aspirations have been well put forward in recent speeches by Dr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister here in Washington. With best wishes and the earnest hope that you will come safely through the crisis, I am

WELL KNOWN WASHINGTON
CORRESPONDENT

New York City, March 30, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—It must be pretty difficult to keep one's head in China through this crisis. You must be having a hard time sticking to your *China Weekly Review* as you have been doing. I imagine it doesn't increase your popularity in Shanghai, but you are performing a real service and that's some satisfaction.

EDITOR, WIDELY READ AMERICAN
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Washington, D. C. April 29, 1927.
(By Cable)

Powell, Shanghai:—Admire Your Courage.

Charles G. Ross
Washington Correspondent
St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

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Powell,
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Congratulation on your Courageous Stand.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE
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Chicago, April 29, 1927.
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Powell,
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The Chicago *Tribune* today editorially strongly indorses Powell's courageous defense of President Coolidge's policy of non-intervention in China and says, "Powell is encountering the especially stubborn short-sighted policy which has had much to do with the creation of anti-foreignism in that region which has been playing into the hand's of the extremists and Russian agents of intrigue.

JOSEPH PIERSON, CABLE EDITOR
CHICAGO TRIBUNE

The French Position Respecting the Nanking Ultimatum

(*From the Manchester Guardian*)

Opposition to French participation in any action of the Powers in China is growing in strength, and would appear to be shared by the Government. "Humanite" gave yesterday certain information about M. Briand's statement to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber on Friday, which is confirmed from other sources.

M. Briand said categorically that the French Government had replied in the negative to a request received from the British Government to take part in common action in China, and said he was glad that France had no share in the bombardment of Nanking. He spoke of exaggerated accounts of the situation in China received from English sources, and declared that to his knowledge the Cantonese had shown they were in a position to maintain order and that the Cantonese authorities had guaranteed the protection of foreigners. The death of he two French missionaries was, M. Briand said, due to their own imprudence for they had disobeyed an order to leave the war zone.

As regards the system of Concessions, M. Briand said in his opinion it was absolutely necessary to revise it. There was, he said, a Chinese elite that could not tolerate the regime permitting Chinese to be put on the same level as dogs, as in a notice at the gate of a park of the International Concession.

American Paper in Hankow Resumes Publication

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Dear Mr. Powell:

I have just read in the *North China Daily News* the report of the action of the American Chamber of Commerce regarding your relations with that body. I write to express my sympathy and sincere regret that this action has been taken. I knew absolutely nothing about it yesterday when we were talking. I hope the matter can be straightened out in some amicable way.

I must confess that I am not suprised that considerable exception has been taken to your position as expressed in the Weekly Review in recent months. I have been wanting for several weeks to have a long talk with you on the subject. I hope we can get together during the next few days.

Again with regret that this matter has been allowed to proceed so far. I remain.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY

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Dear Mr. Powell:—Having read in the *North-China Daily News* this morning that your paper was attacked by the American Chamber of Commerce, owing to the fact that the Chamber does not agree with your American policy, we want you to know that the Chinese while not always agreeing with you, do however generally support your attitude of fairness. We hope that the vexation will not interfere with a continuance of your work. Although you are being attacked by a little group of reactionary "die-hards" at present you must know that you are receiving the sympathy and support of a majority of the thinking people and you will win out at last.

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE

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The American Chamber Of Commerce And Its Views On American Policy

BY J. B. POWELL

ACCORDING to the annual report of the American Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai which was distributed at the annual meeting of the membership on Tuesday, April 26, the Board of Directors of the Chamber has been quite busy during the year in dispatching cables to Washington and in passing resolutions for transmission to Washington, all urging a "strong" American policy toward China. Probably the most important resolution passed was during the latter part of March when the Board passed the following, which was handed to the special correspondents of American and British newspapers now present in Shanghai:

"Militarism, brigandage and Bolshevism have destroyed all semblance of law and order throughout the greater part of China and have brought about a condition where life and property of both Chinese and foreigners are in constant danger from mob violence, military terrorism and unrestrained activities of individual criminals. The repeated assurances of militarists and other spokesmen of political factions that they can and will protect life and property are irreconcilable with the recent deplorable events leading to the necessity for evacuation of the entire Yangtsze valley under justifiable advice or instructions from foreign governments. The great mass of conservative and law abiding Chinese have been reduced to a state of helpless intimidation and are unable to take any effective measures to protect either themselves or foreign residents. The adoption of a conciliatory policy by the foreign governments has merely strengthened the position of the lawless elements and encouraged outrages like that of Nanking.

"We strongly endorse the decision of the American Government to take adequate measures for the protection of American lives and property, as evidenced by the landing of Marines at Shanghai and the announcement that additional forces are en route. It must be borne in mind however, that through unscrupulous propaganda designed to inflame the Chinese masses against foreigners, business men and missionaries alike, a hostility has been created causing the withdrawal of hundreds of Americans from Treaty Ports and interior places, and the desertion to mobs of millions of dollars of American property. Of all the cities of the Yangtsze Valley and South China, Shanghai alone is comparatively safe for foreigners. This, however, is due to no consideration shown by those Chinese inflamed by Bolshevik advisors, but entirely to the presence of foreign warships and military forces. It is obvious that a protective policy applying to Shanghai alone will not enable China to put its house in order, nor will it prevent enormous losses resulting from the evacuation of the interior districts.

"We are convinced that the future welfare of the Chinese people and the ultimate safety of American and other foreign residents throughout China, can be attained only through unified action by the Powers to suppress disorder and to restore conditions favorable to the formation of a responsible government.

"We believe that immediate concerted action by the Powers to restore a condition of security for foreign lives and property in all Treaty Ports, and to recover all foreign properties which have been destroyed or confiscated, will have a far-reaching influence throughout China, to the ultimate benefit of the Chinese people. This result should not be difficult to attain with the naval forces now in Chinese waters.

"In our opinion, the future peace of the world and the general welfare of the Chinese people will be best served by the maintainance of the alignment of the Powers established under the Washington Treaties, and their cooperation in the service pledged to China during the Washington Conference."

It is very difficult to estimate the circulation which was given to this declaration of the American Chamber of Commerce, which was in simple language an appeal to the American government for armed intervention. It was cabled to all of the larger newspapers in America almost in full and was also sent in full by the correspondents of the two American press associations, the *Associated Press* and the *United Press*. It is probably safe to assume that part of this resolution appeared in every daily newspaper in America while the larger newspapers printed it in full. In the case of one of the newspaper correspondents in Shanghai he not only sent the resolution in full, but also sent along the names of the members of the Committee of the Chamber which had drafted it and hence were responsible for the resolution. It is also interesting to note in this connection that the American Chamber of Commerce, while desiring the fullest possible circulation for their resolution in the United States, did not have sufficient courage to hand it to the local foreign and Chinese newspapers for publication here, for obvious reasons. Now as to the resulting action in Washington:

On April 25, just one month after this resolutions had been given the widest possible circulation in Amirica, President Coolidge, in the course of an address at the annual dinner of the *United Press* in New York was quoted by *Reuters* as follows:

"After alluding to the events at Nanking, the President said that Americans sympathized very deeply with China in her distress. American friendship for China had become proverbial. They have no disposition to do otherwise than assist and encourage every legitimate aspiration for unity and freedom. They did not wish to pursue any course of aggression against the Chinese people. They were there to prevent aggression against Americans. While they would maintain the dignity of their Government and insist on proper respect for their authority, their actions would always be those of friends solicitous for the well-being of the Chinese people."

On the same day that President Coolidge delivered his address in New York, the Manchester *Evening News* of Manchester, England, published a cabled interview with Senator Wm. E. Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, which was telegraphed to the Far East by *Reuters* and in the course of which the following appeared:

"He (Senator Borah) trusts that the millions of British people anxious for world peace will exert their influence on their Government in the Chinese affair.

"China," says Senator Borah, "will be an acid test whether the nations that are preaching peace and international justice want peace and justice,—Whether the industrial peace we covet for our people is to be extended to other peoples."

Thus spoke the two most important men in the United States Government from the standpoint of foreign affairs. Then turning to another dispatch in the same issue of the Shanghai newspapers we find the following which was telegraphed to Shanghai by the Japanese *Toho* Agency from Peking which tells the real story regarding the American policy in respect to the Nanking incidents:

Peking, Apr. 25.

"As indicated by the recent declaration of Mr. Kellogg, the Secretary of State, America is disinclined for a strong policy in connexion with the five Powers' second Note on the Nanking outrages, which is to be presented to the "Nationalist" Government. Thus difference of opinion exists between America and the three other Powers, namely, Britain, France, and Italy, which insist upon a strong attitude, and the situation becomes critical for the expected joint action.

"On instructions from General Baron Tanaka, Premier and Foreign Minister, to the effect that Japan is resolved to act to the last in concert with the Powers in dealing with the Nanking outrages, Mr. Yoshizawa, the Japanese Minister, invited the four Ministers to the Japanese Legation this evening for a conference at which he endeavored to bring about agreement of opinion between America and Britain, France, and Italy. It is understood, however, that the attitude of Britain, France, and Italy is now not so strongly in favor of sanctions. Consequently, it appears likely that the five Powers will agree to send a second Note to the "Nationalist" Government, demanding only compliance with the three demands set forth in the previous identic Notes, and to discuss a third step as the situation warrants after seeing how the "Nationalist" Government will act on the second Note.

Then to add a touch of humor to the rather painful position in which the American Chamber of Commerce had placed itself, we read in the *North-China Daily News* for Wednesday, April 27, a dispatch from Mr. Rodney Gilbert who lambasted the American Government for everything under the sun for "deserting her allies" and ended with a little pathetic note which Mr. Gilbert called the "last straw" which was that Admiral Williams of the U. S. Pacific fleet, now at Shanghai, had telegraphed to Washington urging that Mr. John Van A. MacMurray, American Minister at Peking and the Legation staff be evacuated to Shanghai so they could be protected by the American gunboats and Marine forces here.

Now when we sum up the results of the American Chamber's long and expensive campaign for American intervention into the Chinese situation. we find that the results have been exactly *NIL*. As a matter of fact the results have been worse than nothing, for the Chamber as a result of its short-sighted action at the annual meeting referred to elsewhere in this issue, has discredited the whole American commercial community in Shanghai with the Chinese, the very people the American merchants must do business with to live. We imagine that when the facts become known in America, and they are bound to become known, for all of the press associations have sent cables of the incident, there will be the very devil to pay in certain prominent places in Shanghai.

So much has been said in these columns recently on the suicidal policy which certain Powers, particularly the British, have been following in China that it is unnecessary to repeat the essential factors, but there hasn't been the slightest chance in the world of America intervening in China further than the ligitimate landing of sufficient sailors and marines for the protection of American residents at Shanghai. And in this connection it should be made plain that the American Marines here *are not*, in any sense of the word, part of the so-called Shanghai Defense Force which the British press keeps talking about. The American marines are billeted inside the International Settlement and in a few instances have been assigned to the unpleasant duty of searching Chinese entering the Settlement for possible arms or munitions, but by no possible stretch of the imagination can this action be interpreted as *defending* Shanghai against the legitimate aspitations of the Chinese who are demanding the right to assist in the admistration of and the policing of their own territory. The British have tried in every way possible to get America involved in the mess they have created out here, but President Coolidge is entirely too canny a politician to get himself involved in a scheme for upholding British imperial colonial policy in this part of the world. This was indicated in his address referred to in the foregoing. It is true that America has intervened in Nicaragua in Central America where another canal route is considered necessary for the national safety of the United States, but even there the criticism has been so strong that Coolidge is on the defensive. America has tried intervention in Mexico repeatedly and it has always failed and in Mexico the American investment is probably a thousand times greater than it is in China. In 1902 an American fleet, upon the recommendation of the American merchants there, shelled the city of Valparaiso, Chile, owing to some alleged insult to the American flag, and the South Americans are still talking about it. If an American visitor wants to pick a quarrel anywhere on the West coast of South America today, all he needs do is ask some American merchant about the bombardment of Valparaiso. The American merchants on the West Coast of South America would do almost anything in the world to wipe out the stain of that mistake of a quarter of a century ago, and yet there are supposedly intelligent American merchants in Shanghai today, in the face of the rising tide of Chinese nationalism so prevalent on all sides and among all classes of Chinese, who would urge upon the American Government to make a similar mistake out here. The American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai ought to have a guardian appointed before it makes any more disastrous blunders!

In making these statements we do not question the right of the Committee of the Chamber to pass any resolution which it may wish to pass even to the extent of amalgamating with the British Chamber of Commerce, for their views appear to be quite similar. What we do object to is a small group of American merchants (there are eleven on the board) meeting in secret session and taking action on questions affecting American policy, with which they obviously are not informed, and thereby causing embarassment to the entire American community in Shanghai, which may have entirely different views on the subject.

The Provisional Court Agreement

BY SAMUEL H. CHANG

NECESSITY is the Provisional Court's sole excuse for being; for some sort of Chinese authority must be maintained in the Settlement to serve as a buffer between complete foreign aggrandizement and Chinese sovereignty. But, at that, it is a very poor excuse. As the Chinese saying goes, it neither resembles a donkey, nor does it look like a horse. It is not Chinese because it has to please all the foreigners, and it falls short of being foreign because it is not altogether subject to the dictation of Great Britain, the chief Power represented in the Shanghai "International" Settlement.

Such being the case, the Court is more or less regarded as a disappointment by those who unreasonably expected to be benefitted by it. The majority of the foreigners, and probably all of the British, look upon it as a bad substitute of the good old Mixed Court where the assessor could be relied upon to convince the magistrate that the Chinese defendant was all wrong and must be made to remember that foreigners were bound to have their own way in China even when they were wrong. On the other hand, the better informed and more educated Chinese see little difference between the Provisional Court and the Mixed Court. At any rate, the price paid for its maintenance is not worth the bargain. For one thing, the Mixed Court made no pretense that it was Chinese. But this Provisional Court! How is one to identify it?

Before taking up the Agreement, it will be well to review briefly the circumstances under which it was made. Rendition of the Mixed Court had been an old subject of controversy between the Chinese Government and representatives of the Powers since the Second Year of the Republic when the Waichiaopu approached the Diplomatic Corps at Peking for the return of such Chinese rights as were abandoned to the Consular Body by the Manchu officials in the midst of the Revolution. The negotiations were carried on intermittently to the Thirteenth Year when the civil wars brought it to

a fruitless end. While no practical result was obtained from these negotiations due to lack of a common basis to work on, one thing was unmistakably brought home to the mind of the Chinese, viz that whatever the Powers were willing to concede, they were determined upon keeping those rights which they had usurped during the Revolution. In the meantime conditions in China were changing rapidly and the Mixed Court was becoming more and more obnoxious to the now more enlightened Chinese. Partly to allay the wave of anti-Imperialism and partly to offset the effect of public opinion against Great Britain for her wanton massacre of the Chinese at Shanghai and Canton in 1925, the Powers found it expedient to resume negotiations. For this purpose they could not have found a better man than Sun Chuan-fang. Overlord of five provinces and being heralded as a new type of militarist, some sort of an eighteenth century European benevolent despot, the erstwhile marshal of the Southeast was only too eager to seize at such an opportunity of placing himself in the graces of the people. It was a popular move and one for the successful execution of which he could justly claim credit. In other words, in the summer of 1926 the stage was all set for rendition. Both foreigners and Chinese alike were anxious for it. Unfortunately, however, haste made waste, and over-anxiety prevented anything from being rendered.

At the outset the method of approach was wrong. Instead of reaching down to the roots of the evil and facing it as a problem of principle, as they should have, the negotiators took the Court as an established fact. The fundamental problem of why the Mixed Court existed as it was, was not discussed. "Here is the Mixed Court with its various practices. Now let us see what adjustments can be made so that both sides can save their faces," served as the only program throughout the negotiations. Such an unscientific method not only failed to clear up the major issues but also further complicated the whole situation, as the Agreement clearly shows; for it is the Agreement which makes the Court ridiculous.

Taking up the Agreement itself, we find that Article I, Paragraph (ii) says:

"All laws, including laws of procedure, and ordinances applicable at the present time in other Chinese Courts as well as those that may be duly enacted and promulgated in the future shall be applicable in the Provisional Court, due account being taken of the terms of the present agreement and of such established rules of procedure of the Mixed Court as shall be hereafter agreed upon."

One can readily understand why a Chinese Court shall apply Chinese laws; but to require it to take due account of such established rules of procedure of the Mixed Court is tantamount to making it into a court which may be of any nationality but Chinese. The former Mixed Court's rules of procedure take no cognizance of the Chinese law. They form a separate system of their own, without any historical basis nor legal justification. No Chinese court can afford to pledge itself to the practices of the Mixed Court and expect to function within the legal limits established by the Chinese judiciary.

Paragraph (iii) says:

"In criminal cases which directly affect the peace and order of the International Settlement, including contraventions of the Land Regulations and Bye-laws of the International Settlement, and in all criminal cases in which the accused is in the employ of a foreigner having extraterritorial rights, the Senior Consul may appoint a Deputy to sit with the judge to watch the proceedings."

One cannot disregard the significant difference between the Land Regulations and Bye-laws of the International Settlement. The Land Regulations are what the Chinese Government have consented to recognize as enforceable in the Settlement; but the Bye-laws are created by the Municipal Council without reference to the laws of China. As a safeguard against nullification of Chinese laws, it should be ascertained whether any bye-laws of the Settlement are repugnant to the Land Regulations. It should also be made clear to the Settlement authorities that no Municipal bye-laws may be enforced without having been approved by the Chinese Government; otherwise the Settlement authorities can destroy in a few moments what has taken the Chinese Government years to build up. As regards the last provision of the paragraph, it explains why the general public considers employees of foreigners and foreign firms as traitors, the compradores, for example, running dogs of Imperialism, as they are aptly called. At any rate, it is difficult to understand why a Chinese employee of a foreigner should be given a different legal status in a Chinese court. In a place like Shanghai where foreigners and Chinese live side by side and are bound to be connected with each other in one way or another, no Chinese government can tolerate such abuse.

Paragraph (iv) reads:

"All summonses, warrants and orders of the Court shall be valid after they have been signed by a judge. All such summonses, warrants and orders shall be numbered for record by the Chief Clerk before service."

Efficiency demands that all summonses, warrants and orders be numbered for record; but if the Chief Clerk happens to be a foreigner, as he is at present by agreement, it lies within his power to prevent service thereof. Perhaps there is no justification in suspecting the Chief Clerk for being incompetent, for he is responsible to the President of the Court who is Chinese; but, just the same, when he is in a position to put a spoke into the wheels of justice one doubts the advisability of according him with so much power, be he foreigner or Chinese. If a super-judge is considered desirable, he may be found in the supreme court. For a court of the first instance, such a personage is out of place. At any rate, there is no place in any Chinese court for a foreign chief clerk. According to Article VI of the Rendition Agreement, he is entrusted with the financial affairs and the administrative work of the Court including charge of the staff. It is not only incongruous for a Chinese court to have a foreigner exercising such functions but also are a rebuke to the Chinese judiciary. If the Court is to be Chinese, no foreign chief clerk ought to be allowed to function in any capacity.

Continuing, the same paragraph reads:

"When the summons, warrant or order is to be exectued on premises occupied by a foreigner having extraterritorial rights, the consul or other appropriate official of the power concerned shall on presentation affix his counter-signature without delay."

As an explanation of the above, the Exchange of Notes declares that:

"It is understood that the words "without delay" in the last sentence of Article I (iv) shall be interpreted as meaning in conformity with the provisions of the treaties."

Once more one finds himself face to face with the fundamental issue of the treaties. Here, as in the case of the Chief Clerk, one may rest assure of the impartiality and the high sense of duty of the consul concerned; but with the unequal treaties in force, it is not altogether improbable that the Chinese judge will find his summons, warrant or order not serviceable simply because the consul refuses to countersign it on the ground of an unheard of technicality in the treaty provisions. Treaties or no treaties, therefore, the Court must have the power to serve summons, warrant or order on foreign premises by merely notifying the consul concerned instead of waiting for his counter-signature.

In Paragraph (v) which reads:

"In cases in which a foreigner having extraterritorial rights or the Shanghai Municipal Council is the plaintiff in a civil action and in criminal cases in which a foreigner having extraterritorial rights is the complainant, the Consul of the nationality concerned or the Senior Consul may send an official to sit jointly with the judge in accordance with the provisions of the treaties."

Here one finds a subject which has caused more trouble, contention, friction, and ill-feeling between the Chinese and th foreigners than any other problem relating to the Court. This is a vital question with both sides. To the judge, the consular official sitting jointly with him means a check to his authority and a humiliation to his dignity which is not to be found and can never be permitted in any other Chinese court throughout the entire country. On the other hand, with the Powers, the consular official represents control and authority. Without him, foreign rights will surely be ignored by the Chinese court. He is indispensible as a watch-dog of justice. The view taken by the foreigners is that the Chinese judiciary, as such, is rotten and that the judges are incapable of a fair sentence. Time was when such suspicions were more or less justifiable. But conditions and men have changed since then. And if the Powers hold on to their precious prejudices against, and their distrust in the Chinese judges, there is little hope for them to live among the Chinese in China. The consular officials reached the bench by gradual encroachment in the course of two or three decades. In a present-day Chinese court, there is no room for any foreign consular official to sit jointly with the judge.

Article III places the control of the prisons attached to the Court under the control of the Police. For hundreds of years the Chinese court and prison have been inseparable in their control, and adverse criticism of this system is yet to be found. After all, it is the Court which sends the offenders to the prisons and it is also the Court which has the authority to release them therefrom. As a logical measure and in comformity with the traditional Chinese rule, which has never once been found to be impractical in its many centuries of existence, the prisons should be placed under the absolute control of the Court. As a matter of convenience, they may be staffed by the Municipal Police who must, however, be subject to the direction of the Court.

So much for the Agreement as it is now in force.

No revision of the Agreement can be satisfactory without a drastic curtailment of the functions of the Police. In the past, the Police had been presenting evidence direct to the Mixed Court in various police and criminal cases, and the Mixed Court unquestioningly accepted Police evidence as conclusive. They seemed to have attained infallibility. The Provisional Court, realizing the danger of depending solely upon the Police, has exercised its discretion and consequently has incurred the displeasure of it enemies, especially the local British official organ, the *North China Daily News*. A further and more offective remedy for this evil practice would be to entrust all prosecutions with the procurator, thereby enabling the Police to devote their entire attention and energy to the increasingly complicated problems of maintaining peace and order, instead of dabbling with the fine points of law which they know nothing about. This is a very desirable measure, for it kills two birds with one stone.

As is generally understood, the purpose of rendition was to restore Chinese sovereignty and to establish a more satisfactory basis for Sino-foreign relations. It could never have been, therefore, the intention of the negotiators to extend foreign jurisdiction and to provide more ground for friction. And yet, in the Exchange of Notes the following provision is made which is directly contradictory to the purpose and spirit of the Agreement:

"With reference to Article I (v) it is understood that in criminal cases where the citizen of a nation without extraterritorial rights is an accused and the citizen of a nation with those rights is a complainant, the case shall be tried in the Provisional Court and a Consular Official belonging to a third nation shall be asked by the Court to attend the trial in order to watch the proceedings."

How the above provision can be interpreted as restoring Chinese sovereignty and eliminating another cause of friction challenges explanation. In fact, the result works exactly the other way. As time goes on when the more liberal and fair-minded countries begin to surrender their extraterritoriality, as they certainly will, there will be just so many more people getting beyond the power of the Court. When both litigants are foreigners, the judge cannot possibly lay himself open to suspicion as to his impartiality. He has no interest in the case aside from its merits, and it is immaterial to him which party wins the suit. For cases belonging to this category, therefore, the judge alone will do better than in conjunction with a consular official belonging to a third nation. His presence at the trial should not influence the judge, and if it is not intended to be so, what advantage is an uninterested consular official's presence at the Court to any party? Of course, one is mindful of the right of an extraterritorial national to be tried by the judge and his consular official jointly; but in cases like the above the fact remains that so long as this provision is in force, the more non-extraterritorial nationals there are, the more consuls will be exercising their jurisdictions.

The most satisfactory solution to the entire problem, and the one for which all Chinese are striving, lies in a complete readjstment of all Sino-foreign relationships on the basis of equality and reciprocity. With all outstanding fundamental issues settled the question of the Court can be easily disposed of. The alternate solution to this particular problem is to return to the so-called Yangkingpang Land Regulations of 1869 which, in view of the present spirit of Chinese nationalism, is the least that the Powers can and ought to do immediately in order to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people; for it is but a step towards the abrogation of all unequal treaties.

American Chamber Elects Directors

At the annual meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce held at the American Club, Shanghai, April 26, the following directors were elected:—C. B. Arthur, of Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company; W. H. Bolton, of W. H. Bolton Bristle Company; T. J. Cokely, Robert Dollar Company; W. I. Eisler, American Bureau of Shipping; R. F. Evans, C. K. Eagle and Company, Inc; William S. Fleming, of Messrs. Fleming and Allman; C. E. French, Andersen, Meyer and Company, Ltd.; C. B. Gardner, Standard Oil Company of N. Y.; S. C. Kingsbury, Connell Bros. Company; J. B. Murray, Texas Company; and F. J. Raven, the Raven Trust Company, Ltd.

At a subsequent meeting of the directors the following officers were unanimously elected: C. E. French, president; Capt. W. I. Eisler, vice-president; F. J. Raven, treasurer.

Mr. Warren Manley was reelected Secretary.

Major C. P. Holcomb was appointed Chairman of the Community Committee, which Committee takes over the functions of the American Association of China, now absorbed by the American Chamber of Commerce.

The Silkmen's Dilemma

BY PAUL K. WHANG

REALIZING the intensity of the present labor situation which will infallibly affect the silk industry, the silk men have recently inserted their declaration in the local Chinese newspapers with a view of disclosing many important facts which the public is apt to lose sight of. The gist of the declaration, briefly, is that raw silk constitutes the biggest item in the list of our exportation; that the silk industry alone has provided employment to hundreds of thousands of women; that wages in most cases are better than those paid to the male workers of many other industries; that the silk industry has been seriously crippled by the constant internecine warfare; that cooperation between labor and capital is necessary in order to hold up our national industry; and that silk men are contemplating to better the treatment of the workers.

With the persistent cry for high wages, and short hours, the silk industry will be hard hit. In view of the instances of Wusih and Soochow, where the silk men have been forced to append their signatures to the demands made by the labor unions of their respective districts, the local silk men are getting busy in formulating a new program of wages, working hours and other improvements in factory conditions, which, if accepted, will be put into force in all the filatures of central China. On account of present unsettled conditions, political as well as economic, many silk men have already intimated their intention of suspending their filatures indefiintely until such time as the general condition will warrant them resuming operations. After talking with several silk men, I am able to discuss several factors which are responsible for putting the silk men in the present dilemma.

Warfare Interferes With Mulberry Culture

First of all, with the war still waging in several quarters, the farmers have been constantly annoyed by the defeated soldiers, and can can by no means give a parental care to the raising of silkworms. The fear of scarcity of the supply of mulberry leaves is also felt in many districts owing to the fact that many mulberry trees have been chopped down by the soldiers for fuel. Moreover, the war has left the means of transportation and communication in a crippled state and this also hampers the work of those who are engaged in carrying on the educational campaign for scientific rearing of silkworms among the farmers of cocoon-producing districts. It is needless to say that the quality of the cocoon crop of the coming season will be greatly affected by these unfavorable conditions.

Secondly, the provincial authorities have not taken measures to round up all the defeated soldiers, who have degenerated into bandits and are scattered all over the country-side. As all the cocoon-hongs, or cocoon-collecting houses, with a few exceptions are located in small villages and remote towns which are the rendez-vous of the bandits, it will involve a great risk for the silk men to ship there a large quantity of silver coins, as the farmers will not accept any other form of money except silver. In time of peace, the government might render an adequate protection to all the cocoon-hongs, whose number is nothing short of eight hundred, scattered all over the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhwei; but how can we expect the same protection from the government whose chief interest is to direct the campaign against its enemies?

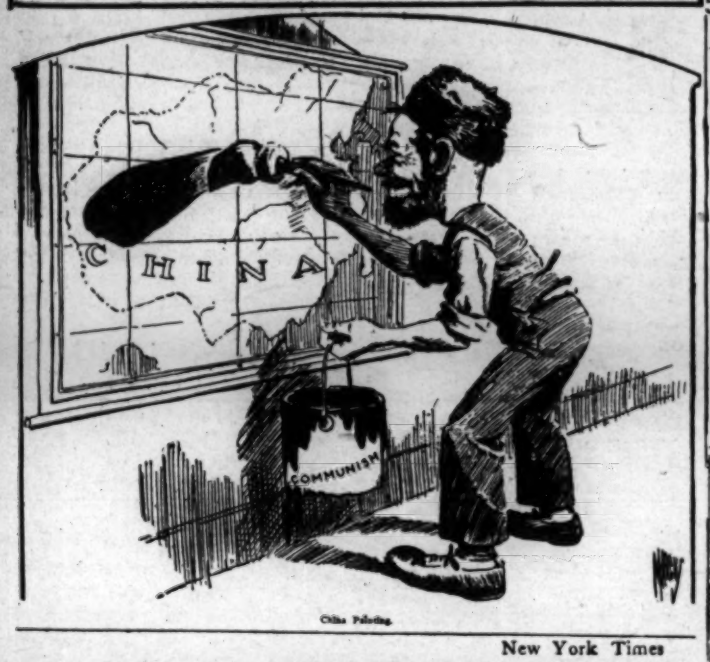
Thirdly, the native banks will be very cautious in extending credit to the silk men. Our silk filatures, as a rule, have been operating with very little capital, say 20,000 to 50,000 taels, and have to borrow large sums of money from the native banks just before the cocoon season in order to buy a portion of their supply for the year, varying from 30% to 80%. At a rough estimate, a filature of 300 basins will consume about 3000 piculs of dry cocoons a year, which will be valued at $460,000, supposing the fresh cocoons are bought at $60 a picul. These figures will readily disclose the fact what an important role the native banks hare played in the silk industry. The money thus borrowed with cocoons as security will be gradually paid back by the money realized from the selling of raw silk. Under present conditions will the native banks make loans to the silk men as readily as they have done in time of peace? As regards insurance, the insurance companies will also find that it is not safe to insure the cocoon-hongs against any losses from war, robbery and theft. Even if some concerns will take such a risk, the rate will be exorbitant.

Farmers Forming Leagues

Fourthly, with the formation of farmers' leagues in several districts, it is logical that the farmers might force the silk men to buy the cocoons at a price quoted by themselves. In the past, it is nothing strange to find that in some localities the cocoon-hongs were destroyed by the farmers, if anything

As Cartoonists of Japan, Russia and America See It

CHINA PAINTING



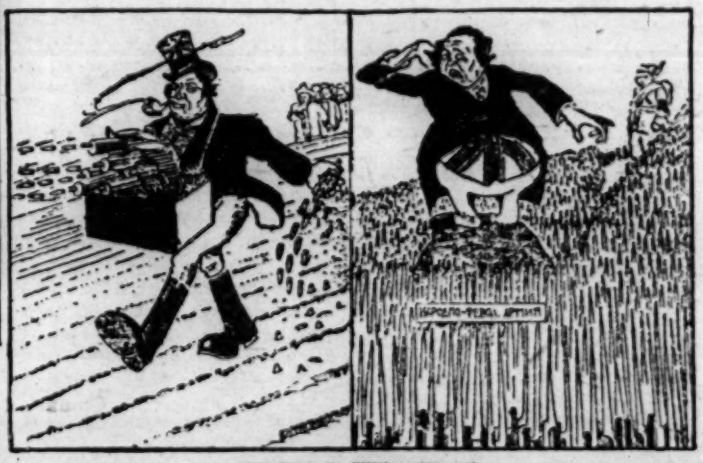
New York Times

INTERESTED SPECTATORS

Chicago Tribune

JAPANESE VIEW OF CHINA'S UPRISING

This cartoon which appeared in the *Mangazasshi* of Osaka, Japan, shows China breaking the arrow of Great Britain which has slipped from the quiver representing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. America and Russia are looking on, and the paper remarks that if the arrow had remained in the quiver with that of Japan, it would not have been broken so easily.



JOHN BULL IN CHINA—1839, 1927
"Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap"
From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)

happened to incur their wrath. The farmers, as a whole, are simple-minded; but once their feelings are stirred up by the radical elements they can hardly be brought into the fold.

Lastly, the labor problem itself concerns the silkmen much more than anything else. Under present conditions, it is necessary to better the treatment of the workers by raising the wages, shortening the working hours, and doing some form of welfare work. All these reformations tend to increase the cost of production. As a matter of fact, the increase in the cost of production of many products can be easily offset by raising their selling prices; and the loss will ultimately fall upon the customers. But raw silk reeled by the steam filatures is for foreign exportation, and its price largely follows the fluctuation of the price of Japan silk. Owing to the inferior quality of our cocoon production, the inefficient factory-management, and the cumbersome marketing method, the cost of production of our raw silk is already much higher than that of Japan silk; and in the past our silk men have met with many hardships in extending the sale of their products in face of Japanese competition. Furthermore, raw silk is a product which needs the care of skilled girls. In producing silk of best quality, the silk girls must be under a strict supervision. In recent years, our foreign buyers have been very particular about the quality of silk and would reject the goods on any slight pretext. The silk men feel that in future it will be a matter of impossiblity to maintain a strict supervision over the silk girls who, backed up by the labor unions might at any time take action against the management.

In a word, with the cocoon season near at hand, the apprehension of a general suspension of most of the silk filatures will more and more turn out be a reality. So far there have been no promising signs which can in some way cheer up the over-worried silk men, who are prone to look upon everything through glasses of pessimism, inasmuch as the economic and political conditions remain unsettled. The silk men, as I have mentioned before, with their little capital invested in the silk industry are not in a position to take a chance—a chance the odds of which are against them. However, the silk men, though dejected and downcast, are still consoling themselves with this happy saying, "After clouds there will be bright days". But who can predict when the bright days will be here again?

The American Position At Shanghai!

The following editorials from the Springfield, Mass. Republican, one of the oldest and most conservative newspapers in America, tend to give an insight into American public opinion regarding the American position at Shanghai.

Our Marines At Shanghai

(*Springfield Republican*)

Proof of the wisdom of delay in landing the America marines at Shanghai has already been given by the promptitude with which the British troops, nominally sent for the protection of life in the international settlement, have gone beyond the boundary and staked out strategic lines in Chinese territory. No doubt military authority can be cited for the advisability of this step, but for that matter there are military authorities who insist that the offensive is the best defense.

Only the Italian contingent thus far has cooperated with the British, the other forces, including the Japanese, resting content with watchful waiting. It has been intimated that the United States marines, even if they should land, would be kept narrowly within the settlement, but that is not in the least to be counted on. If fighting should once begin they would have to go where they were needed and the expanded initial ground plan of the British defense shows that it might be difficult to set a limit to their activities.

There is a certain irony in the report that the decision to extend the British military area was taken because of the bad reputation of the northern troops of Chang Ching-chang, who was coming to the defense of Shanghai against the Cantonese, whose approach to the city had been the occasion for the dispatch of the British armada. But is not this admittedly cruel and lawless war-lord being aided strategically by the extended British operations? At all events the civil war has become too complicated in that region for foreign forces to make any move whatever without risk of a breach of neutrality, and the longer our marines can be kept on their ships the better.

The Big Parade At Shanghai

(*Springfield Republican*)

Nobody even at this distance will be much impressed by the plea that the parade of American marines in Shanghai, ordered by Admiral Williams, was planned merely to give the men exercise. The Chinese, who are strictly realistic in their interpretation of what the foreigners do, will be so little impressed by it that the excuse was hardly worth making. None of the factions in the Chinese civil war approves of the massing of troops on Chinese territory, and shortly before the time set for the American parade the consular body had to deal with a protest from the commissioner for foreign affairs, presumably representing the northern groups which still hold Shanghai against the Nationalists.

His complaint is that the British have "infringed upon Chinese sovereignty" by their occupation of strategic points outside of the international settlement. Strictly speaking Chinese sovereignty covers the settlement also, which is not a concession and would be under Chinese authority if China had not been too timid to maintain its rights. In Parliament it was freely admitted that operations in Shanghai depended not on legal rights but on the need of protecting British subjects. To the Chinese, however there is a wide difference between the settlement, where for many decades the foreigners have governed, and the purely Chinese territory outside, and apparently even the faction in control at Shanghai, while not objecting to reinforcements in the settlement, object strenuously to encroachments beyond the boundary.

It is understood that the parading marines were instructed to keep within the settlement. but this distinction may be lost on the Chinese for the reason that a day or two earlier a company of United States sailors with arms marched through the city and went beyond the boundary for practice at the rifle range. Also United States marines daily transgress Chinese territory, landing and drilling with arms on the Standard Oil company's property, which is outside the settlement. That on a particular day a parade of from 200 to 1400 armed Americans, with flags flying and bands playing, kept to the limits of the foreign quarter will seem to the Chinese a trivial matter in comparison with the military display.

Some Americans at Shanghai, said one dispatch just before the big parade, would not have been surprised if Washington had cabled Admiral Williams countermanding this show of force, but dispatches from Washington indicate that full discretion was left with Admiral Williams, who apparently had not considered the matter of sufficient importance to notify the government. Nevertheless, considering the stress which has been put on the dispatch only of marines, who could be kept on their ships unless their services should be needed, it seems possible that this use of them for a needless display of military pomp was diplomatically a mistake. That the British should be pleased is not surprising; they would like very well to share an unpopularity due in no small degree to the fact that they have used force so freely to get and keep their position in China. But America has deprecated the use of force and this garish display of it seems not quite in keeping with the aims for which reinforcements were sent to Shanghai.

"Ti-kuo Chu-i"

(*Springfield Republican*)

Although Chinese is an ancient language, it appears to lack a word for imperialism. A British observer in a part of central China recently inundated with Nationalist propaganda was puzzled by the expression. "Ti-kuo Chu-i," which was used in the posters pasted on walls by school. boys. What it means he could not learn with precision, but he says: "After asking many scholars for their opinion, the impression left on one's mind is that it denotes an over-bearing way of treating people of other nations." If young China has managed to pack all that into two short words it has done a good job linguistcally. It may not be scientifically accurate as a definition of imperialism, but it describes a phase of imperialism of which the Chinese have had only too much experience.

This Briton tells how in the cities and ever in the small towns crowds surge through the streets chanting "Ta-tao Ti-kuo Chu-i," which after consulation with the pundits he translates as meaning "Down with imperialism." The average Chinese, he thinks, in all probability does not understand the phrase at all: "It is probably as clear to him and as comforting as that blessed word Mesopotamia was to the old lady of happy memory." This, however, may be an illusion due to his own struggles with an unfamiliar expression; great learning is not needed for getting the point of a new bit of slang or a popular catchword. Nor are there many ideas more readily grasped by the crowd than "an overbearing way of treating people of other nations.'

No great civilized nation has had more experience than the Chinese of being "treated in an overbearing way", if they have had no words in their copious but conservative language to describe it "Ti-kuo Chu-i" must meet a long felt want. By this time an end must have been made of all the notices in parks and pleasure-grounds which used to read "Chinese and dogs not permitted," but the spirit which inspired them is by no means extinct. To many of the foreignes who hold a position of privilege the Chinese are but "natives," which is the more galling because from time immemorial the Chinese have regarded themselves as pre-eminent in civilization and all foreigners as illbred and unmannerly barbarians. The one contempt may be as foolish and unjustified as the other, but contempt, coupled with "an overbearing way of treating people," is hard to bear. It is only a question of time when a proud nation so treated will tell the foreigners to change their tone or get out. And that seems to be essentially the meaning of the new slogan "Ta-tao Ti-kuo Chu-i."

If it is directed more against the British than against other foreigners this is because a greater part of the Chinese nation have come in contact with the British as representative of "an overbearing way of treating people of other nations." That some Britons are a little impolite in their relations with Asiatics and other natives is freely admitted, and it may not be easy for sahibs to have one manner for subject peoples and another for nations resolved not to be subjects. An old resident not long ago told the British colony at Shanghai that the best way to cope with Russian propaganda would be to print the local English newspapers in Russian and let Russia bear the blame for all the abuse of China which these journals were printing. The new Chinese slogan may not be in the dictionary and it may puzzle venerable men of learning, but we may take it for granted that young China knows what it means. And there are other countries that may yet translate "Ti-kuo Chu i" into their own speech.

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Seeing China From The Middle West!

The following editorials from The Chicago Tribune tend to indicate the state of public opinion in the Middle Western section of the United States in respect to the present situation in China.

Shanghai And The Cantonese

WITH the capture of Shanghai by the Cantonese force the Chinese situation enters a new phase. We do not refer to the possibilities of acute international complications although they are obvious. But Shanghai is the greatest prize in China from every point of view. It is the richest source of revenue. Its possession means not only funds for war, government, or spoils, but the strategic command of the Yangtsze, the chief artery of Chinese internal commerce, and with it mastery of the great central plain. We do not say the northern provinces cannot exist without it. That is far from true. But with it the Cantonese should be able to consolidate their strength on a very substantial basis and make a more forceful claim for recognition as the predominant government. Moreover, the effect of its capture must be very bad upon the fragile morale of the northern leaders and it is not improbable that a good deal of their military strength will begin to wane.

If it were not for Canton's entanglement with Moscow this development might be welcomed. If internal chaos and international irresponsibility are not to continue ruinously one faction or another must gain the upper hand. All real interests both of China and the western powers involved in the Far East were being seriously injured by the futile struggle of factions for selfish power. This struuggle did not represent anything constructive. It was not a contest of political ideas or economic principles. Therefore it was not working toward anything permanent.

But it is fair to say that the Cantonese party comes nearer to representing a program than any of the northern war lords. Its ideas are radical but they promise something to the Chinese masses. Sun Yat Sen was a patriot and he bequeathed a real national movement to his followers. It is a pity he fell under the influence of economic and political ideas which are not going to help China to economic progress and that his movement has become complicated with Moscow's international enmities and ambitions. No one can wisely hazard prediction upon how Chinese nationalism as expressed by the Cantonese party and by the radical groups throughout China which are in sympathy with it is going to work out, but developments are to be expected forthwith. The occupation of Shanghai will greatly increase the pressure, already said to be acute, upon the solidarity of the party leadership. The great difficulty in the Chinese revolution has been apportionment of power and profits and Shanghai offers a lot of both. Then there is the incurable warfare between left and right in any revolutionary movement and we shall now see whether the usual success of the extremists in such movements is to come. It is said that the military head of the Cantonese, Gen. Chang Kai-shek, is a moderate but how loyal to him are his troops? Personal loyalty to a commander, so familiar in the military history of Europe, does not seem to be very common in the Chinese armies, and the Cantonese movement seems to be largely influenced by Russian advisers whose influence will certainly not be favorable to moderation.

Meantime in the foreground of our interest is the foreign settlement at Shanghai, a modern city of wealth and organized life. Under the guns of a formidable naval concentration, with a fair land force to supplement it, the foreigners can be protected as to their lives, but the property interests, involving millions of invested capital and years of industry, cannot be saved by gun fire. We can only hope for China and for its relations with the rest of the world, except Moscow, that its conservative instincts have not been suppressed but can find some effective means of expressing themselves in this crisis. There are solid Chinese interests which have no inclination toward communism and which are quite acute enough to perceive the mischief of bolshevik manipulation of China's external relations. But united action is not easy for them.

Radicalism And Young China

There is an interesting aspect of Chinese nationalism that is not getting the notice it deserves. The leaders of the movement for the overthrow of the Manchu empire and the establishment of a modern state were not radicals in the western sense. Many of them were educated in American universities and, with the exception of Sun Yat Sen, in his later stage of development, they were and are conservative in their economic and political beliefs, speaking from the viewpoint of western radicalism. Upon the fall of the Manchus they sought advice from a distinguished American political scientist, who discussed for them principles of modern government and its chief forms, the constitutional monarchy and the republic. The merit of the former for a people without experience in self-government was not ignored, and there was among the abler Chinese an inclination to adopt it. But there was a lack of material and also a strong party for republican government; so the republic was adopted.

The constitutions thereupon proposed are not radical in our sense, and in the first days of the republican movement the objective was the establishment of a republican regime with which American and liberal European opinion could actively sympathize. The subsequent rise of the various war lords has thrown this development into a tragic confusion, and in the meantime there has grown up at Canton a radical regime, at first under the influence of the late Sun Yat Sen, who had developed into a radical doctrinaire, and later under bolshevik diplomacy. In this evolution we find student groups conspicuous, and it is significant to note that socialist economic and social doctrines are introduced not merely under Russian influence but from European and even American universities. Missionary sympathy for these ideas has appeared also. The usual talk against capitalism is general not only in China but among Chinese students who are supposed to be getting knowledge of occidental societies in this country and Europe. If we are to judge from much of the student theorizing among the young Chinese, the American example of private liberty and initiative is one to be avoided, not imitated.

We are less interested in the bearing this may have upon developments in China than upon its explanation. How is it that the youth who are going back to China are taking ideas which imply the failure of democracy in this country rather than a determination to establish American conditions in their own country? What are our universities teaching their students? How is it that among the missionaries and Y. M. C. A. workers in China, supported as they are by our sinister capitalists out of the evil profits of capitalism, we find so much sympathy for at least a half baked socialism? Are our political and economic professors convinced that the American system of individualism and republican government is a dismal failure and that young China ought to strike out for the socialist utopia by the shortest route? How many of our missionaries and Y. M C. A. workers are sentimental socialists? It might pay to find out.

We think the American scheme, being a fabric of fallible humanity, has its faults, but we do not see that it deserves the scorn which the Chinese student of today seems to have for it. It has given a well being to the common man which no socialistic experiment, past or present, has produced, and among the highly altruistic friends of China we do not think the future is going to list either the adroit diplomats from Moscow who are just now having their day in the nationalist movement nor yet the sentimental socialists of our own breed who are giving a sort of shamefaced encouragement to inexperienced and misguided youth in China.

If young China is studying in American schools the sources and history of American institutions, with American teachers who are fit to teach the lessons of American life, where is it getting its new hostility to America and its liking socialism?

Developments In China

Admiral Williams has notified the navy department that a number of American civilians have been killed and wounded at Nanking. An Associated Press dispatch in the afternoon papers reports that the Americans were killed when the hill on which they had been assembled for protection was shelled by the Cantonese force.

If this is accurate, the killing can hardly be ascribed to irregulars or troops out of hand. It was probable, if not certain, that there would be some violence of the latter sort, for it is not uncommon in war even when armies are better controlled than they can be in a revolutionary state. But shelling means artillery and suggests that the nationalists' victories have encouraged extremists to let themselves go against the foreign devils.

Prediction of events in China does not tempt us, but it does not seem improbable that the nationalist movement is passing into a new stage of acute anti-foreignism, which will dispose of all moderate leadership and create an international situation of far reaching consequences. Under the adroit guidance of Russian advisers working with the tendency of all revolutions to pass from right to left, from moderation to excess, conditions may develop which a handful of foreign troops and a squadron of ships will be unable to combat. If, as is then likely to follow, all foreign interests are expelled from China, the impact will be felt throughout Asia. The British position in India will be seriously compromised and may soon be made quite untenable. The Dutch will have

more trouble in Java, where anti-foreignism and even communism have attained to some organization, and Japan's socialist movement is likely to enter a more serious stage. Also the independence party in the Philippines will have new fuel.

Our own stake in the orient is not essential to our prosperity or security, but when we read that Moscow is celebrating the taking of Shanghai as if it were a Russian victory we may have reason to meditate upon the interesting possibilities of an Asia dominated by Russian diplomacy and domestic intrigue. We are not disposed to take too seriously plans for a united Asia and a world war of the yellow and brown races against the white. The diversity and depth of race and religious cleavage in Asia are obstructions to any large unity that will endure very long even if it could be accomplished for a moment, but the immediate prospects offered by the success of the Cantonese under Russian advice and with Russian aid are not to be understimated.

We shall await with interest the fate of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Eugene Chen, and others in the Cantonese movement who are said to be opposed to bolshevik domination and extreme measures against the foreigners in China. If they are not assassinated or executed for treason to the revolution in the bolshevik manner or driven to the nearest foreign refuge, they may be able to stabilize the situation upon a basis which will permit the foreign governments to negotiate tolerable terms. A transition period is desirable from the standpoint of Chinese independence and material progress as well as from that of foreign interests and international peace. But the prestige of the occident is being badly shaken and with it the ability of Chinese moderates to control the nationalist movement.

The latter have put their faith in the inherent conservatism, individualism and property sense of the Chinese, and these may defeat bolshevik efforts to create a proletarian revolution in China and thus gain virtual control of China's foreign relations. But new forces are at work among these people and no one knows how powerful they are or how extensively they will operate under the incitement of plausible extremists. Certainly the common man in China has had a wretched life, judged at least by our standards, and the roseate promises of communism might well capture him. The Chinese habit is conservative and the Chinese temperament normally peaceful and patient. But the Chinese are capable also of violent explosions, all the more violent because of the self-repression which they practice.

Anti-Foreignism In China.

There is considerable irony in the fate of the missionaries at the hands of the advancing Kuomintang. The missionaries, at least the American Protestants, have been all for the Nationalists. Many of them have urged the immediate surrender of all extraterritorialities and declared that their work could not prosper if backed by gunboats. It seems, indeed, that it is not prospering, but we doubt if the presence of a few gunboats at this time is really regretted.

The truth is that the possibilities of anti-foreignism have not been very intelligently assayed in China. The more moderate Chinese public men were inclined to condone the anti-foreign tactics of the more radical as necessary to waken Chinese indifference and create a political consciousness among the people. So long as it can be kept within bounds it is useful, no doubt, but it is not an agency easy to keep within bounds. On the contrary, it is virtually certain to leap bounds. That the fleeing missionaries should express bitter disappointment is not surprising, but it shows that they were living with some very obvious illusions. Anti-foreignism is too useful a resource for political ambition and even for disinterested patriotism to be ignored.

We are not disposed to blame the Chinese for making use of it. The task of creating a sentiment of nationality in in the vast territory of China, among three or four hundred million people who have little communication, who cannot read or write, who have not even a common spoken language, and who have an immemorial hostillity to change, is greater than any leadership has ever confronted. Probably only the crudest, most violent methods can be expected to have any effect upon the mass of the Chinese.

This in candor must be allowed. Meanwhile we can only hope that the flames will not carry too far. They are being scattered as far as possible by Russian and Russianized Chinese in the far east, and they may very well make it too hot for any foreign interest in the orient. But so far as China is concerned, we cannot see that a nationalist movement saturating itself with the temper and theories of Moscow is likely to bring her people into the path of modern progress. China needs friendly relations with modern peoples. It needs foreign capital, foreign enterprise, foreign technical and scientific knowledge and directorship, foreign standards of living. A partnership with the reaction which Moscow thinks is progress will not get the Chinese what they need. Even if the much belabored imperialism were as injurious to China as the Nationalists assert, and we are quite confident it is not, a Russian domination would be worse.

This is or seems to be realized by most of the leaders of the modernist movement, and we hope these leaders will be able to disentangle the movement from Russian influence. But this is growing increasingly difficult because of the skillful use of anti-foreignism by the Russian emissaries. The situation is rapidly passing, it would seem, out of any control by the Chinese leaders who have dreamed of creating a modern state of an occidental type; and nationalism, though not yet openly committed to communism, is more and more using the jargon of the "proletarian revolution," socalled. America and the European governments with interests in China are ready to make new treaties and establish relations with a responsible Chinese government which would be not only compatible with Chinese self-respect but conducive to the progress of China. But there seems no hope of coming to terms in the present situation and all that can be done is to protect our people and our interests as well as possible. That in a civilized world we have a clear duty to do. If we show any hesitancy in the performance of that duty, we shall do neither ourselves nor China any good.

Under the Nationalist Government in Hunan and Hupeh

BY L. T. CHEN

(*The Voice, Shanghai*)

When Dr. Sun Yat-sen admitted the Communists into the Kuomintang he had in mind a double purpose: to infuse the party with new blood and to enlist its help in arousing the masses of the people. He had realized that the Kuomintang was degenerating into an offiialdom, and that its members had begun to debauch themselves with ease and pleasure attained through their partial success in 1911. He also recognized that the first Revolution fell short of its object for the simple reason that the masses of the people had not been awakened. Both of these shortcomings have been remedied by the admission of the communists into the party, but new problems have ensued as a result.

The Communists in the party are not officially recognized as such. They join simply as members of the Kuomintang. Dr. Sun is their undisputed leader and to the party they pledge allegiance. Having recognized this fact one still has to remember that these men hold to Communism as their controlling philosophy of life. There is no division of allegiance but they look upon their political affiliation as a means of putting into practice the principles in which they believe. These men comprise middle school as well as college and university students, many of whose leaders have been in Russia. These new ideals grip them and one and all they are fired with zeal and enthusiasm for the new order which they proclaim. They are sincere reformers and not a few of them have chosen to cast their lot with the labor class. They work with them and live with them. It is a moving story to hear them tell of the number of men who have died with consumption while sharing the life of the laborers in trying to help solve their problems. These students have come to be the leaders among the masses and they wield a real power and influence among them. Had it not been for them the People's Revolution would certainly not have been able to make the miraculous progress it has.

These are the facts of the situation. The Communists have meant much to the Kuomintang and they are among the most active members of the party. They do not seek position, in fact, they have a rule forbidding any one of their numbers to accept appointment as an official. Any one violating this rule is liable to expulsion from the party. They still consitute a very small minority in the party but their influence is so strong that they actually shape the thinking of large numbers of members of the Kuomintang.

It is beyond doubt that the province of Hunan is the stronghold of Communism. So is Hupeh. Both of these provinces may eventually be assigned exclusively to its influence. On entering Changsha one's attention is attracted by posters in the name of "the Communist Party of China." Such open advertising of this party had not been found in any other place. But here the city is smeared with posters reading, "Let the People's Revolution be directed by the third International," "The spirit of Lenin is Immortal," "To oppose Communism is to oppose the Revolution," and the like. The people who are in control of the Kuomintang affairs in

the province have to be either members of the Communist party or members of the extreme left wing of Kuomintang. What these people advocate is very difficult to ascertain. The leading members deny their intention of putting Communism into practice. With unanimity they declare that China is not ready for it and that real Communism is not in practice anywhere to-day, not even in Russia. Some go so far as to say that to advocate Communism in China to-day is to betray the Revolution. It is anti-revolutionary. Whatever the case may be on this point, one cannot overlook the fact however, that there is in existence a cult of destructiveness. The order of the day is to destroy. Anyone who is not so inclined is not worthy of existence. It naturally follows then that no constructive force is now in operation. No sooner is a constructive effort made than forces are set in motion to demolish it. A cloud of uncertainty overhangs the city, the whole proviuce languishes under its effect.

Notwithstanding their professions to the contrary, it is obvious that the Communists are not working without a definite object. Their denials of putting Communism into practice may mean only for the time being. Whatever else they mav have in mind it is undeniable that they have definitelyundertaken to create class consciousness and class hatred; This is necessary if the Marxian principles of class war are to be applied in China. The immediate effect of this policy is that economically the province is paralysed. People of wealth have left the province and those who are well-to-do have been reduced to poverty. Even the food supply is likely to be exhausted. For the farm owner is finding no incentive to work on his farm. He is confronted with the dilemma of having to pay higher wages to farm hands on the one hand and of not being permitted to market his produce for larger profit on the other.

In this situation real power resides with the Laborers Union and the Farmers' League. The former is well organ' ized and there is on the part of the lower branches implici-confidence in and unreserved obedience to those above them. In the latter there is yet no recognized authority. Each local chapter has its own will and goes its own way. Both of these organizations tend to hold the government at their mercy and represent a real menace to constituted authority. Instances are not wanting in which the power of their organization is abused. Just at present it is a fair statement to say that they have been more destructive than otherwise. Productive enterprises have been disrupted and thousands of people have been deprived of employment or work. The usual economic law of supply and demand has been blatantly violated.

Deathblow to Militarism

If these organizations are wrecking the economic fabric of society they have also dealt a death blow to Militarism which has split the country and caused the people untold misery. Forever the day is gone when militarists can browbeat the people and extort money from them as they please. The masses are organized and among other things they have gained control of the purse. They pay as they see fit and they determine for themselves how much and for what purpose they may expend money. This is something that the people never could do before and it represents a marked advance in the development of democratic goverment. Objection may be made on the ground that there is little choice between militarism and a possibility of mob rule, the fact is that militarism has been knocked off its bottom and a new force has been brought into existence which may work for either weal or woe in the future. What happens in the transition is no indication of what it may eventually be.

In point of time the Laborers' Union has been established much longer. It has had a longer history and more experience in corporate life. What it is doing and stands for today may be taken as a fair indication of what is possible with the Farmers' League, although it must be remembered that the farmers are by far more numerous and therefore require more time to organize. The Union in both Hunan and Hupeh is spoken of as being much saner in its attitude than six months ago. By statistics which they collected the Union claims that the laborers' demand for increase in wages is nothing more than what is necessary for ordinary living.

On the whole everywhere the Nationalist government rules there is noticeable a buoyancy of life. Many people are skeptical but most of them look forward with cheerfulness and hope. They feel confident that a new and better order is setting in. As far as one can see peace and order have been restored and on inquiring one is met with the reply that living conditions are much the same as before the revolution, except in the fact, however, that people are having to modify and change their views of life, especially in their attitude toward the laborers and the socalled suppressed classes. Those who can easily do so will find life more meaningful, those who cling to conventions are doomed to sekpticism and disquiet. One has to catch the spirit of the time in order to have a peaceful mind.

What inspires confidence in the future of the Revolution is the type of men it has as leaders. The genuineness and sincerity of men like Chiang Kai-Shek and Eugene Chen make one realize immediately that they are working for a great cause. Their pronouncements emanate from the convictions of a definite purpose instead of being a mere play with words as is customary with politicians. All the leaders have a high regard for Russia and what her experience has taught but none of them is blind to the fact that Russia and China are two different countries and the way to deal with their problems require separate formulae. Russia is considered China's best friend in the attainment of her legitimate aspirations but that does not mean down-right obedience to individuals of Russian nationality. It is an open secret that Chiang Kai-shek and Borodin do not agree with each other and that an open break between them is inevitable.

Noncommital on Christianity

As regards the status of Christianity as a religion the Kuomintang has nothing to say. But so far as it has been used as a tool of Imperialism it is opposed. The party recognizes religious freedom but it also admits the right of opposing religious belief on the part of those who hold such views. The party is not unaware of the acts of violence committed against Christian institutions. These are disapproved by the party and the authorities frankly admit that their silence on such actions is only a matter of expediency. In other words the Kuomintang's policy with reference to religious questions is one of *laissez faire*. In the final analysis Christians in China today alone can decide whether they or their opponents have greater vitality.

As far as participation in this revolution is concerned there is no discrimination against anybody on religious grounds. Christian as well as others are welcome. In the party everyone is expected to give complete allegiance to it and to undertake some definite phase of its task. The party claims supreme control over the life of each member irrespective of his person or his position.

The Communist party in the Kuomintang holds much more extreme views towards Christianity. But even with them the main attack is on education. As far as the Church is concerned it can function as usual. Christian education, however, has to undergo readjustment. A general rule is that the Church shall not undertake primary education. With respect to High Schools and Colleges and Universities the regulations of the central government and those of the provincial government of Hupeh differ in a vital way.

a. The central government requires that religious instruction and religious observances should be only voluntary.
b. The provincial government of Hupeh requires that no religious instruction or religious observances should be had at all. Furthermore, there should be a "student dean" appointed by the government in each school.

In brief, the Revolution so far has accomplished two things very definitely: (1) It has completely overthrown Militarism. The military force that is being used by the Kuomintang is merely an instrument entirely at the disposal of the Party. It does not have a program of its own but carries out only such wishes as the Party has. (2) It has made the people articulate through the Laborers' Unions and Farmers' Leagues. These organizations are at once the source of strength as well as danger to the government. In order that the government may have the organized support of all classes of the people one would hope that the merchants should also organize themselves into an efficient body. This will introduce into the situation a voice that has been lacking but is of supreme importance to the politico-economic revolution that is taking place. It is not intended that the business and labor interests should conflict. But the government needs to represent the business elements and have their backing as well as that of the other elements in society. In Canton where all these interests are organized the situation presents a different spectacle and the restoration of order has been much more rapid.

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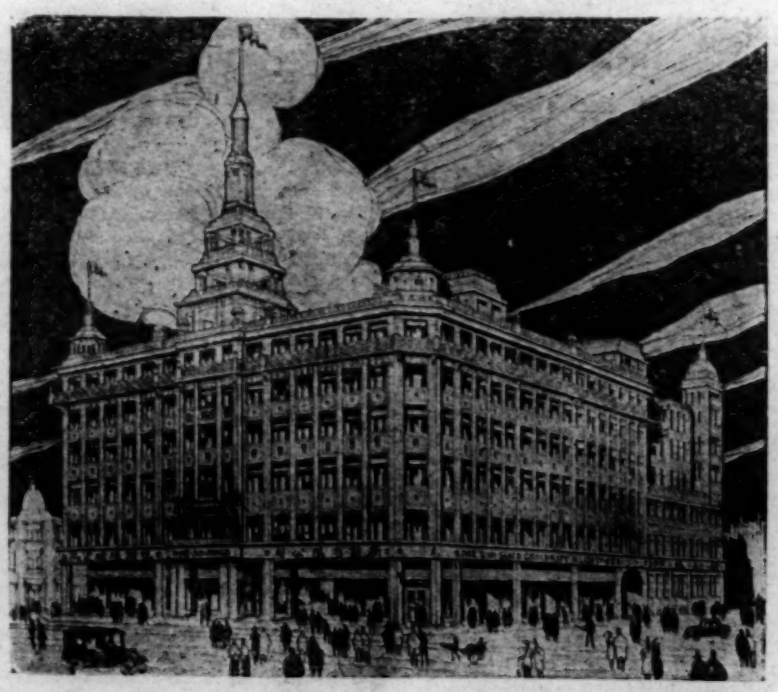

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NANKING ROAD - - - SHANGHAI

Young China

BY EDWARD H. HUME*

(*Foreign Affairs, New York*)

WE shall have, some day, a history of China that pictures vividly the unique succession of the seasonal cycles in her national life: long winters of stagnation of thought and activity, following on days of real harvest; and followed, in turn, by the freshness of spring, when the sap of vitality crowds the blossoms out on every branch before the frost has disappeared. It is spring, though winds of violence scatter petal and seed pod, delaying, even destroying, much of the fruitage. Of no period will the historian say with such assurance as of today, "This was spring. Here China was young again."

To those who have felt the violence of the extremists and watched the withdrawal of the moderates, Young China means hot-headedness and irresponsibility. The term recalls to their minds noisy groups of youngsters, herded into line for a patriotic procession, ordered to shout slogans, compelled to carry banners with truly strange devices, keen to overthrow all order and discipline in school as well as government, "for patriotic reasons." Such radicalism, however, is only part of the picture. It is generally admitted that not over twenty percent of the student world supports the extremist program. It would be as unfair to limit the term Young China to the violent radicals as to designate only the vociferous and the immature when speaking of Young America or Young France.

The truer Young China is the group that is moved by the vitality of spring, crowding out the old stagnancy. It includes the thoughtless, to be sure; but it also includes even larger numbers of these thoughtful souls who understand something of what it means to build up a vigorous, self-dependent nation. It is the purpose of this study to inquire in some detail what Young China stands for, what are the forces that impel it and the pitfalls on its road, what its program is and what it holds of future promise.

Young China is, in the first place, the aroused portion of her citizens. To be sure, this means thousands of immature and ignorant boys and girls, scarcely out of primary school, forced to march in endless parades, compelled to sit through noisy gatherings where party slogans are taught them, then driven back again to their schools, to present long series of demands to their principals. Beginning with declarations that they are revolutionaries, anxious to participate in the great movement that will overthrow militarism everywhere, they insist on complete freedom of speech, on the presence of a student delegate with power to vote in all faculty meetings, on the approval of the Student Union in cases of major discipline, on the right to demand the removal of teachers, or even of the principal "when he shall have lost the confidence of a majority of his students." Obviously, since so much time is required to memorize the patter of the propagandists, curriculum work and the disciplinary elements of school life come in a poor second.

But in addition to these hot-heads there are countless mature men and women in every sphere of public life. "There was never a time in China," says a sober, world-travelled executive, "when people's hearts bounded with more hope than today. For the first time in many years, glimmerings of a possible solution to our problem are visible on the horizon. The atmosphere strongly reminds us of the revolutionary days of 1911. Expectancy and hope are in the air and a forward move is now possible." Even the self-seeking militarists of the North have discovered that they must indicate their own awakening by insisting on their readiness to defend China's cause against foreign Powers.

For, to be fair to aroused Young China, there has swept over the land a belief that the nation is in peril and that only concerted action can save it. So, however blind the following of these leaders, however selfish the motives of many of them, there is a sincerity in the attitude of Young China, the like of which has not been seen before.

Crusaders Following An Ideal

Young China is, also, crusading China, no whit behind the Crusaders of old in the reckless pursuit of an ideal. To be sure, the quest often blinds even the true crusaders of today, making it possible for a small minority of agitators to intimidate their fellows. Starting bravely, they dare not fall by the wayside. So great is the power of the radical leaders that many a youth who refuses to keep up with the crowd is compelled to endure impossible indignities and mortifications. Many of them are beaten, crowned with high hats inscribed "Hound of the Imperialists:" ropes are tied around their necks and they are paraded through the streets to the accompaniment of derisive cries.

Still, there is a truer Young China. It consists of an alert, devoted group, which is seeking the unification of the nation and its liberation from inequitable foreign agreements, is honestly asking "What's wrong with China?" and trying to answer the question with a real patriotism. It subscribes, whole-heartedly, to the first of the three principles laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, requiring everyone to subordinate himself to the welfare of the state and the people as a whole. As men watch this new spirit at work, they soon discover that the largest element in the success of the crusade is a great faith in the revolution, and particularly in its ability to bring about and to maintain stable government.

Again, Young China is discriminating. Time was when the Emperor expressed the national attitude by his tone of contempt for the foreigner. The "barbarians to the West" were not worthy to be admitted to the land as social equals. The thundering of guns and the quieter, but even more potent, influence dislodged the old conviction of superiority, and China went through a stage of admiration, almost adulation, slavishly copying the forms and fashions of the West. Today, a new spirit is abroad in the land. On the surface, attention appears to be directed largely to a decrying of Western imperialism, to an endeavor to overthrow foreign schools and hospitals. Beneath all this, however, is the new critical spirit which is testing impartially the old literary standards, the old religious traditions, the agelong family loyalties, as well as the influences from abroad, educational, political, social and religious.

One must admit that while the real spirit of inquiry and selective choice has arisen from an inner urge, there is, unquestionably, prompting from without as well. Men are saying everywhere in China, "We may not accept Russia's economic teaching, but her methods of revolution are the very best." Those who have come closest to Borodin appear certain that his counsel has been, not so much that China should imitate Russian communism, as that she should organize under party control, and enlist the laborer and farmer as well as the student, the merchant and the soldier. "Don't follow the West blindly," Russia seems to be saying to China today, "Find out what is best adapted to your own needs. Count on our help wherever you find we can give it. You will probably get what you desire all the more quickly if you can teach all the people some simple formulae." "Down with imperialism" is an easy slogan to learn and to shout in unison.

Most striking of all, Young China is a unifying force. Before the revolution of 1911 it worked underground. Secret societies were its method of organization. Pledged to work for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, their ultimate aim was to enlist the support of all classes of the people. When the outward label of monarchy was changed, they realized that their real task lay ahead. During the years up to 1919 it was the student class and the leaders of commerce who were enlisted, the influence of Dr. Sun Yat-sen becoming constantly more potent. A tremendous stimulus was given to the unification movement when Japan's "Twenty-One Demands" were discovered in 1915, students and merchants in many parts of the country joining in an effective protest. These groups became still further aroused and united in May 1919, when a nation-wide strike was effective in compelling China's delegates to withdraw from the Versailles conference and to refuse the treaty proposed there.

The Power of Young China

During the next six years, labor, which had hitherto had little part in the organized life of the nation and little chance to express itself, became increasingly involved. Today, it is one of the most powerful groups in the land and has to be reckoned with in every political situation. Its power was shown in the significant strike of seamen at Hongkong in 1923. The most explosive evidence of this new power of organization in China came, however, after the May 30th incident in Shanghai in 1925. By this time Young China had come to include all the student organizations throughout the land, large numbers of labor organizations, and a considerable fraction of the merchant class.

Young China has actively espoused the cause of labor during the past seven years, teaching the workman such phrases as "Fair Wages," "Shorter Hours," "The Dignity of Labor," conceptions he had never dreamed of before. Strikes have become a familiar weapon, and when strikers have suffered, as in the Shanghai mill incidents of 1925, Young China has taken up their cause and sought redress or reform. Far too often the methods used have been demonstrative rather than constructive. Mob violence has been released, followed by clashes with the police. These have resulted in still greater suffering and renewed demonstrations, a vicious circle that threatens to continue unless sober minds discover ways to break it. The fact remains that Young China has allied industry to itself, and can now order strikes or boycotts at will.

The newest campaign of education is designed to enlist the support of the farmers. One has only to bear in mind how vast a majority of the population they form to appreciate

(*Continued on page 260*)

*Mr. Hume is president of the Yale-in-China, which has been closed owing to the agitation of the radical student and labor organizations.

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the significance of this latest development. The indoctrination is being carried on through rural schools, by groups of volunteer lecturers who go out into the country, and by bands of travelling players who give vivid presentations of the dangers to China's life, internal and external.

Add to all these elements the fact that the inclusion of women in all the social, educational and economic programs of Young China is rapidly increasing, and there arises a picture of China's new social democracy, in which all classes and both sexes are united in a common national cause.

In the last analysis, however, Young China means liberal China. Liberal in thought, to begin with. It is the mind of China, thinking in new channels and freed from traditional restraints. Says an ancient proverb, "All pursuits on earth are mean in comparison with that of learning." It is the scholar who has governed in the past, who has molded the thought of the common people and who has made of public opinion the irresistible force it has become. It is intellectuals who supply, today, the freedom, the initiative and the sustained dynamic force for the new forward movements, economic, literary and political. Today it is men such as Dr. Hu Shih and Dr. David Yui, who would be leaders of thought in any country, that are molding the opinion of the nation. Old China relied on the dictatorship of a Yuan Shih-kai or on the military prowess of *tuchuns*. The political leadership of today is passing rapidly to Young China. One of its chief concerns at this time of crisis is to keep the control of events in the hands of the moderates. The insistent demand of the extremists for power has followed as a natural sequence upon the admission, in 1921, of the communistic group as one wing of the Kuomintang, or People's Party. This group had gained a small following from the early days of Western contact onward, but had never occupied a position of any political importance. The Chinese are innately averse to the radical principles on which communism rests, but by 1921 the leaders of the Kuomintang were convinced that their party organization needed something that the radicals could give. It was understood that the moderates should formulate the party political program, while the extremists were to organize the technique of political propaganda. What could be more natural than that such a union should result in dangerous radical leadership in certain areas? The present party organization leaves every committee almost supreme in its own district. In places where uneducated workmen and immature students form a majority of the district committee, the program and the conduct of those in power is thoroughly communistic. The moderates everywhere regret that this is so, none more than the leaders of the Kuomintang itself. In places where communistic storms are wrecking institutions and working havoc with the constructive activities of the community, the moderates admit their helplessness for the moment and stand aside till the fury of the elements shall have spent itself.

In spite of the danger that the agitators may get out of hand now and then, Young China is working steadily ahead for the creation of a liberal public opinion. Through all the varied political activities of the past fifteen years, when military movements and cabinet changes have followed each other in kaleidoscopic sequence, success has invariable come to that side which had the approval of liberal public opinion. When President Yuan Shih-kai appeared to be at the height of his power, had actually set the date for his own coronation as Emperor and had chosen the title and had the seals cut for the new dynasty which he was to inaugurate, a movement led by a single courageous general overthrew all his plans. Tsai Ao, then governor of Yunnan province, a fearless leader in the Young China Party, started the revolt which ended Yuan's hopes and set the seal of national disapproval on any further attempt at reviving imperial government.

A Sense of Responsibility

The forces impelling Young China are varied and complex. In the first place, Young China is moved by a sense of responsibility. No other group cares about the nation's welfare. No other will undertake the task of safeguarding it. China's reconstruction would be left unachieved unless Young China strove for it. This alone would be a sufficient motive. But in addition to it, there is fast developing an intelligent loyalty which increases the ability to bear the burdens assumed.

It is frankly recognized that the core of the problem of national reforma ion is at home. The evils of militarism, the wrangling of political rivals, the prevalence of official greed, are not possible of concealment. On the contrary, they are attacked publicly. "The important thing," said a high official of the People's Party at a recent gathering, "is not the battles which have been won but the principles for which our armies have been fighting. We are fighting militarism first of all—the militarism represented by Yuan Shih-kai, Wu Pei-fu and men of that stamp. We are fighting, also, the foreign imperialism which has supported all these militarists in their efforts to crush the people's revolution."

It is Young China, too, that has taken up the responsibility of reducing illiteracy. President Ray Lyman Wilbur was one of many at the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu in 1925 who came away believing that no more significant movement had been reported there than the Mass Education Movement in China. Though less than seven years old, it has already demonstrated its effectiveness by adding literates to the population at the rate of several hundred thousand a year.

A Sense of Irritation

A second force is a sense of irritation. There is precisely the same stirring in the Young Filipino, the Young Egyptian and the Young Turk. Young China is trying to rid itself of external irritants, in particular. It knows that peace and order have disappeared, that education is suffering, that transportation is crippled—all because of the plague of militarism. But it is the aggressiveness of the foreigner that rankles most today. In his report on the Shanghai incident of May 30th, 1925, Finley Johnson, the American judge in the Court of Inquiry, insisted that the anti-foreign feeling in China was not due, primarily, to the events of that regrettable day, but to a variety of political causes: loss of territorial sovereignty, and the usurping of powers, legislative, judicial, administrative and police, in Chinese territory, as well as "the failure on the part of the foreigners in China to realize that the Chinese people have made greater advancemant during the past ten years in civics, in the fundamental principles of government and in the better understanding of individual rights under the law than they had made in any hundred years during their entire history."

One underlying reason for the irritation against the West is found in the belief that moral issues, so basic in Chinese philosophy, appear to be ignored frequently. The Chinese frankly admit that they do not live up to their own high standards; yet their chief concern is with human behavior, for the appraisal of which they possess a remarkable instinct. Their indignation over recent occurrences is not, in their own thought, primarily anti-foreign; it is moral. After living with the Chinese for many years I have come to believe that the sense of resentment against the West is strongest in those matters where the West appears to them to disregard their ideas of what is "right," "ethical," "reasonable from a moral standpoint."

A third force is a determination to preserve the national heritage at all costs. When China discovered that she was in danger of being outclassed by other nations because of their progress in science, there was a period of discouragement. Today, China has determined to build for herself the civilization she needs, using her own indigenous cultural materials and such as she chooses to borrow from without. Her political integrity she will not surrender. In the realm of the spirit, China is re-discovering a distinguished line of social reformers who "experimented with almost all the schemes for social improvement devised by men in any age," as well as many eminent statesmen and administrators and scholars who have enriched many fields of intellectual inquiry.

China Wants The Profits

So, too, in the economic realm, China is determined that revenues that ought to be hers, banking profits that her own financiers ought to secure, shall no longer go to the foreigner. In the ordinary rivalries of business the Chinese merchant never had anything to fear; he was an adept there. He is through, as well, with consortiums and concessions which endanger his economic control. These purposes have largely arisen out of the general distrust of the Westesner that is, unfortunately, so prevalent.

Finally, the forces that have aroused Young China may be understood better by recalling certain innate and distinctive Chinese qualities. For example, there is their faculty of tenacious memory. The boy who could never forget the "four books and the five classics" which he had memorized so thoroughly as a child, now writes on blackboards and doorways, "Don't forget the national humiliation." On May 4th he writes, "Don't forget the day of disgrace." This was when China lost her cause at Versailles in 1919. On May 7th he writes, "Don't forget the Twenty-One Demands." On September 7th he writes, "Don't forget the signing of the Boxer Year protocol." And of course May 30th is a date burned into the heart of Young China, the anniversary of the Shanghai incident in 1925.

Another trait is confident belief in the principle of reciprocity. "As you would be done by" was taught long before the Christian era. It has made all Chinese love the method of arbitration. Whether the case at issue be the wage

(*Continued on page 262*)

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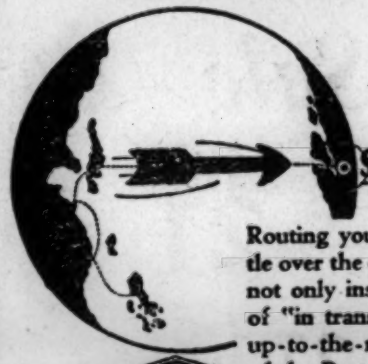

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(*Continued from page 260*)

of the laborer, the boundaries of a plot of ground, or the political implications of a diplomatic controversy, every Chinese desires and accepts the principle of arbitration. To him this is a moral and equitable way of solving difficulties.

Still another fundamental influence is the prominence of the group rather than of the individual. Chinese thought has always been family thought, clan thought, village thought. Its essentially democratic character makes public opinion an exceedingly potent force. So, too, it is the family that arranges marriages, the clan that buys and sells property. The group, not the individual, creates benevolences, supports religion, fosters education. Little wonder, then, that there is such ready acceptance of the committee system insisted upon by the People's Party as a cardinal principle of government, at least for the time being. The transformation going on before us today is one of basic loyalties. All classes are being taught the meaning of national loyalty as something transcending the native devotion to family and clan.

Assemble these varied elements—the sense of responsibil; ity, the sense of irritation, the new spirit of determination add to them those significant qualities of memory, of devotion to the principle of reciprocity, of group thought and action; create a series of situations in which all these factors are called into play at once; let the scholar lead as he has always done, however hot-headed many of his followers; teach the laborer and the farm-hand a few simple things about patriotic duty; and there is formed some conception of what is stirring Young China. Obviously, in addition to these psychological factors, other important elements are involved, such as the influence of modern science in education and industry and the influence of new tides of social and religious thought.

Selfishness a Serious Obstacle

The most serious obstacle to Young China's progress is likely to be selfishness within its own ranks. Those who put self before their cause and personal gain before national welfare, as well as those who foster party jealousy and narrow provincialisms, are the real menace. Conspicuous for their self-seeking are the military adventurers who have lined their own nests with revenues squeezed out of the provinces. No greater tribute could be paid to the memory of Dr. Sun Yat-sen than that, in the very decade when so many other political leaders became personally wealthy, he died without wealth.

But selfishness is by no means confined to the militarists. Many of the most vocal of the younger leaders have tied themselves up with the Nationalist movement, confident that its success will bring them better positions and larger incomes. Another type of selfishness appears in narrow-minded provincials who attempt to confiscate the property of leaders from outside their provincial borders or to wreck institutions conducted by foreigners or by others than those belonging to their own immediate neighborhood. Such men ignore real values for passing gain. Their patriotism is likely to falter at the slightest sign of personal danger.

A second danger confronting Young China grows out of the yoking together of groups that can never work in harmony. Slogans consisting of complaints against the foreigner can scarcely form a stable bond of union between rival elements in government or in party organization. Yet that is exactly what we see today in the Kuomintang, where the moderate wing has yielded to many of the demands of the radicals in matters such as anti-British agitation, attacks on institutions conducted by Westerners, and the like, in order to hold the party together. Dangerous enough as a temporary expedient continued yielding of this sort can scarcely fail to work harm to the party. In this same category lie the dangers likely to result from admitting to equal power with the moderates the unthinking among the workers. To permit labor to continue the levies on capital that have already begun may easily disrupt China's economic life, and, in the end aggravate rather than improve the status of the laborer.

Still a third danger ahead is that Young China, in its warm advocacy of the democratic principle, shall develop without discipline. Allow the pupils of the higher normal schools in a province like Hunan, with its population of 25,000,000 people, to assume supervision of institutional discipline, penal, financial and administrative; allow the graduates of these schools to become the teachers in the primary schools and junior high schools throughout that province, themselves yielding, in turn, to the demands of their pupils of every grade and of all ages; and the provincial school system is not merely disorganized but breeds radicalism and license. Instead of being a constructive instrument, it is transformed into a subversive force in the social order.

This is not written to imply that Young China will be overwhelmed by these perils. On the contrary, they are discussed here in the belief that the human leadership which has developed during the past fifteen years is fully conscious of the obstacles in the path of progress and that it will deal with them frankly and courageously. The excesses

have been, on the whole, those of vitality. Decadent individuals could never be so alert and active.

To Eliminate Illiteracy

Nothing could give a clearer picture of the spirit of Young China than the program of intellectual endeavor planned by its constructive leaders. They are determined to bring information to the masses. "Eliminate illiteracy and make new citizens for China," is the watchword of the mass education movement, conceived, organized and developed by the younger group of the intellectuals. It is this same group that is responsible for the intellectual renaissance and the literary revolution. The former is best described, perhaps, as the awakening of a critical attitude towards facts and the determination to deal with these facts by the method of science. True as it is that this awakening has followed China's contacts with the West, the motive force comes, after all, from within. Little by little it will enable China to become, once more, supreme in the fields of her own cultural and social heritage.

The platform of the literary revolution may be summed up in the words of Dr. Hu Shih, one of its initiators:

Write only when you have something to say.
Write what you have to say and write it as it is said.
Write it in your own words, not in some one else's.
Write in the language of your own time.

One has only to visit a modern book-stall or a city newsstand to discover how this movement has opened wide the flood-gates of literary production. A vital part of the literary revolution is the rapid extension of the "national speech" movement to every locality where Chinese live. I had the opportunity, a few months ago, to observe Chinese schools as far from their home base as Singapore and Sumatra. The children in these schools were being taught the national speech and could converse fluently in it, though their elders still clung to the native dialects of the provinces from which they had emigrated. Could any program for national rehabilitation and wide-spread unification be more effective than one which will extend China's cultural domain from Mongolia in the north to the Malay States near the equator and which will unite in one spoken language, in an almost continuous area so large a proportion of the world's population?

Side by side with the school as effective parts of this program, are the press, the platform and the theatre, as well as quiet discussion groups and research in the university centres.

Another major emphasis in Young China's program is the modernizing of industry. On the one hand, new methods and equipment are being introduced with surprising rapidity; on the other, there are already looming large many of those industrial problems of which, till yesterday, China was unconscious, problems such as the regulation of hours, sanitary surroundings, the prevention of accidents, workers' compensation. Even more momentous are the changes consequent upon the employment of large numbers of workers, a system that eliminates the old human relation between master-worker and apprentice. Until labor can develop better leadership, can conquer the present illiteracy and ignorance, and can substitute corporate thinking for propaganda conducted by paid agitators, its lot will be difficult. But a number of organizations have already come into being to secure for the worker the safeguards and the compensations that are his due. Every such provision makes it increasingly certain that in the China of the coming days the workman and the farmer will be given a full share of responsibility in the nation's affairs.

The future is in the hands of Young China. The older generation failed utterly to be creative; the militar group because of its greed and over-weening confidence in force; the intellectuals because of their static philosophy and complacency; the laborer and the farmer because they never knew that it would be possible to share in the social reconstruction. Young China. has become, therefore, the leader of a real revolution, something as essentially different from the movement that overthrew the Manchus in 1911 and from the subsequent so-called lesser revolutions as an on-rushing seaside differs from the ripples on a shallow pond. It is working for a future in which China shall fully realize its newly-awakened national aspirations.

Into the accomplishment of its task it is pouring the devotion, the enthusiasm and the fearlessness of youth. All who meet its leaders become conscious at once that they are moved by something akin to the passion of religion. It is planning a democratic reconstruction that shall extend to every element in the social order and that can only be fully accomplished when every social group participates in carrying out the program. The magnitude of the task is inconceivable. The past fifteen years of strife and turmoil may have been a necessary means of convincing men that a change was imperative. When the change in political ideas shall have permeated the mass of the population so that the state becomes central in their loyalty instead of the family and the clan—a process that may take decades—then alone will it be possible

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to bring into play the forces that shall create a new China, blending the old materials of the national heritage with the new from abroad.

China Will not Disintegrate

At the moment, the process of change is being blocked both by militarists, who continue their strife as if unaware how completely they are held in universal execration, and by those radical forces, unleashed by Young China in its effort to make the new movement democratic. An able Chinese observer writes, "All will be well while the mass is amenable to the leadership of the moderates. But should the workers now aroused ever get out of hand, then we shall have the devil to pay." Yet no thoughtful person should be misled, by the passing extremism, into believing that China is on the verge of disorganization. The new attitude of Young China should make it clear that there cannot possibly come about either a break-up into separate states, a revival of the monarchical idea, or a control of the entire country by a single dictator.

Young China looks to the West today to do four things: To understand, by intelligent enquiry, the unfolding situation, political and social; to express a constructive sympathy, which involves, not blindness to the excesses of the radicals, but a willingness to stand by the moderates till they recover power; to refrain from intolerance and expression, appreciating the magnitude of Young China's task, both in area and in size of population involved; and finally, to support every well-considered plan for action in favor of liberal China. The centre of such action will consist in a public declaration by our government that old agreements are outworn and that we are ready to meet China's representatives as soon as they have been chosen, in order to reconsider all our political relationships and to put them on a basis that shall be truly equitable and reciprocal. Such a demonstration of our sincerity would strengthen the hands of Young China as it proceeds on its enterprise of rebuilding a nation.

Karl H. won Wiegand Arrives to Cover China Story for Hearst

Karl H. won Wiegand, General European Director and Correspondent for Hearst Newspapers and Universal Service has arrived in Shanghai from Berlin, making the trip by way of the Trans-Siberian Railway and spending some time in Peking on the way. After a few days here Mr. won Wiegand will go to Canton and then will return to Shanghai. Luther Huston, Far Eastern correspondent for the Hearst papers, who has been in Shanghai for several days, has returned to Tokyo.

Lawrence Wilson, who has been representing the North American Newspaper *Alliance* in Shanghai for some time, departed last Saturday for Peking after which he will return to the United States and Canada. Mr. Wilson's father is a prominent member of the Canadian Parliament from Quebec. Vincent Sheean, special correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance, who arrived in Shanghai several days ago, has gone to Hankow, but expects to return to Shanghai shortly. Before coming to Shanghai Mr. Sheean was in Europe and covered the Riff war in North Africa.

L. E. Claypool, special correspondent for the *Associated Press* in the Philippine Islands, who has been in Shanghai for the past week has returned to Manila and his place will be taken here shortly by Morris J. Harris of the San Francisco office. Mr. Harris who has been engaged in newspaper work previously in the Far East in Tokyo, Shanghai and Manila, is now in Peking conferring with Glenn Babb, Far Eastern correspondent for the *Associated Press*. Francis Misselwitz, formerly with the *United Press*, but who resigned recently to join the *New York Times* is now in Hankow. The correspondent of the *United Press* in Shanghai at present is Cal Hirsh.

Other correspondents of leading American newspapers in Shanghai include Frederick Moore, *New York Times;* Thomas Steep, *New York Herald-Tribune*; Thomas F. Millard, *New York World*; J. B. Powell, *Chicago Tribune*; Paul Wright and Reginald Sweetland, *Chicago Daily News*; A. L. Meyer, International News Service (Hearst); James H. Hoeck, *Christian Science Monitor* and George E. Sokolsky, *New York Evening Post.*

Walter Duranty, Paris Correspondent for the *New York Times*, who is now in Peking is also expected in Shanghai shortly.

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As China's Consul in New York Views the Situation

(New York Times)

AN exposition of the present situation in China from the point of view of her representatives in America was made recently by Ziangling Chang, Chinese Consul General in New York, at meetings of Army Reserve officers in Brooklyn and the Polish Democratic Club in St. Mark's Place, Manhattan. In substance Mr. Ziangling Chang said:

"China today is confronted with two problems, the one concerns her internal affairs and the other her international relations. The foreign powers, particularly through the British press, contended that China must solve her internal problem before her claim to readjust foreign relations could be considered. The Chinese, however, are convinced that her foreign relations must be adjusted before her attempt at internal reorganization could bear fruit.

"I do not see how China could ever achieve national unification as long as the obsolete unequal treaties remain in force. The right of extraterritoriality, the presence of foreign settlements, the foreign control of tariff and the maintenance of spheres of interest all interfere, with marvelous degree of success and effectiveness, with China's effort to restore peace and order. But the foreigners refuse to see the truth in the Chinese situation or to discuss the underlying causes of China's internal troubles with a view to their removal.

Foreign Rights Encourage War

"The presence of foreign concessions and the exercise of extraterritoriality always encourage civil wars and brigandage, because these render ineffective all Chinese laws. The foreign control of tariff keeps China poor and hinders development of her industry.

"But of all the underlying causes of her internal trouble, nothing is more detrimental to China's territorial integrity and political independence than the special sphere of influence. When a traveler reaches the immensely rich valley of the Yangtze River, wherein is situated the great City of Shanghai, he learns that he is in the British sphere of influence. When he proceeds to Yunnan Province and the neighboring districts, he learns that he is in the French sphere. Then, when he enters Manchuria, he is reminded that he has come into the Japanese sphere of interest. After these experiences one wonders where is China located.

"The Chinese official in control of territories in these spheres of influence must consider the good-will of whatever power may dominate that part of China. He is required to follow, not the dictates of the Chinese Government, but the wishes of the power in question. Otherwise, a revolt can easily be financed to overthrow him. Small wonder, then, that China is in eternal turmoil.

"The danger of such a state of affairs is not confined to China only. For the interest in these spheres of influence had in the past prompted the big powers to outwit each other with intrigues and political and economical maneouvres, at China's expense of course. The Russo-Japanese War in 1904 was fought on Chinese territory in Manchuria. Now, England and Russia have just exchanged strong notes over the Chinese question. Japan and Russia still watch each other in Manchuria. Like the Balkan affair in 1914, this situation in China is apt to be a menace to the peace of the world. The underlying causes of this situation must be removed.

Abolish Unequal Treaties

"The only way to remove this menace is to eradicate the sources of international intrigue and rivalry by abolishing all unjust treaty rights and privileges and making China mistress in her own domain. China has made enough progress internally to fulfill her responsibilities.

"While the powers had always quarreled over their spoils in China, no one would dispute with the legitimate owner for the return to her possession of all that were seized from her by force.

"All that China seeks today, therefore, is a new era of treaty relations based upon the principle of absolute equality and reciprocity, which will enable her to unify her country and develop her natural resources. She asks for nothing more. All her aspirations are legitimate ones, founded upon justice, common sense and practical needs for her very existence.

"May I reiterate, than, that China is not anti-foreign. China is not antagonistic to the West. She welcomes all foreigners to reside, to trade or teach in China. But China, both the North and the South, has made up her mind to get back all the sovereign rights vital to her existence as an independent nation and as a respectable member in the family of nations."

(Continued on page 266)

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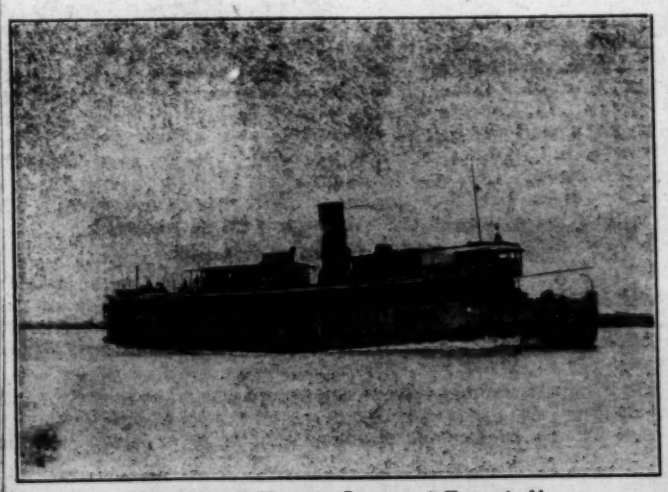

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Who's Who in China

General Li Lieh-chun
李烈鈞字協和

General Li Lieh-chun was born at Nanchangfu, Kiangsi province, in 1883. He was graduated from the Kiangsi Military Academy during the Ching Dynasty, and later entered the artillery department of the Japanese Military Officer's Academy, Japan. When the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the late Huang Hsing organized the Tung Ming Hui, an alliance of revolution, in Tokyo, General Li became a member. Upon his graduation he returned to China and was sucessively appointed pricipal of the Yunnan Military College and a teacher in the Chiang Wu Tang, a military institution. In 1910 he went to Kiangsi and was elected chief of the Kiangsi branch of the Tung Ming Hui. Subsequently, he was appointed Tutuh (Military Commissioner) of Kiukiang, and

(*Continued from page 265*)

Asks American Guidance

The maintenance of foreign settlements and special spheres of influence effectively interfere with China's efforts to re-establish peace and order and unify the country, said Mr. Chang, at a forum meeting of the Crescent Athletic Club in Brooklyn yesterday afternnon.

"The interests and the special privileges enjoyed under the unequal treaties by a mere handful of foreign traders have received from the various governments more consideration than China's plea for fair play," he asserted, adding:

"By a demonstration of armed forces in China under the leadership of England, the powers seem determined to convince the Chinese people that might is right.

"China's attempt to regain an equal status in the family of nations has been persistently misrepresented as anti-foreignism. China now stands at the cross-roads, waiting anxiously for some guidance. I hope some country like the United States, which has always stood for justice and fair play and which has particularly been interested in the peace of the world and the future of humanity, will extend to China a guiding hand toward the right path. It will indeed be a great misfortune if China is forced to believe that only might is right and that justice is not possible without force."

later Tutuh of Anhwei, but the latter post he did not accept. When the first Revolution broke out in 1911 and the fighting at Wuhan was critical, General Li with the title of Commander of the Reenforcement Army, led the Kiangsi Northern Expedition force. Later he returned to Kiangsi where he was appointed Tutuh. In 1913 General Li was dismissed by the late President Yuan Shih-kai, who was ambitious to become Emperor of China. In July General Li went to Hukow in Kiangsi province secretly, where he raised troops against Yuan. The fighting at Nanking went against him, so he proceeded to Japan. Subsequently he travelled in Europe, and on his return remained in Singapore for a time. In 1915 he joined General Tang Chi-yao at Yunan, where he became Commander of troops, However, he soon returned to Shanghai and remained in retirement. In 1917 he rejoined General Tang Chi-yao to make war on Tuchun Tuan. In 1919 he was appointed chief of the staff of the Canton Military Government. In 1920 he became commander-in-chief of the Kiangsi Army in Kwangtung, and later Civil Governor of Kiangsi. In 1921 he was appointed Chief of the General Staff of the Canton Nationalist Government. and commander of the Northern Expedition Army. Following a disagreement between the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen and General Chen Chiungming, the so-called conservative or reactionary Kuomintang leader. he came to Shanghai. He was reappointed Chief of the General Staff of the Canton Headquarters after the failure of General Chen. In 1924 he was appointed Chief of General Staff of the Peking Executive Government, but he refused to accept the post. In 1925 he became chief of staff of General Feng Yu-hsiang. In July 1926 he accompanied General Chiang Kai-shek to engage in the expedition against the Northerners. He became the chairman of Provincial Government of Kiangsi and concurrently commissioner of the Kuomintang Section in that province. In April 1927 he was appointed a member of the National government in Nanking.

Men and Events

The Shanghai Race Club held its annual spring meeting during the week. Banks and business houses generally observed a half holiday during three days of the week.

The Peking branch of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank May 2 applied for a warrant for the arrest of its compradore, Teng Cheng-hsiang, who is alleged to have embezzled several million dollars.

The National Committee of the Young Women's Christian Associations of China announces that since May 2 its headquarters office is situated at No. 19 Yuen Ming Yuen Road instead of No. 1 Young Allen Court.

The thirty-fourth annual report of the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd., shows that the net profits for 1926, including £162,884 brought forward from last account, were £413,666. A dividend of 16 per cent for the year was declared.

Dr. Manley O. Hudson, Bemis Pofressor of International law at Harvard University, after a stay of several weeks in Shanghai, departed last week for Japan, whence he will proceed to Peking and later to Geneva.

The Sixth Regiment U. S. Marines 1500 strong, in command of Col. Harold G. Snyder, arrived in Shanghai May 2 by the transport Henderson. Of the two battalions of which the regiment is composed, one battalion is shortly to be sent to Manila.

O. M. Green, who has been editor of the *North China Daily News* and *North China Herald* (Shanghai) since 1911, left during the week for England on home leave. A complimentary dinner was given to Mr. Green by members of the editorial staff at the Majestic Hotel, April 30, R. Wood, assistant editor, presiding.

According to a statement made in the British House of Commons recently the total cost of the Committee which reported on the Boxer indemnity was £16,188 up to December 31 last. The following fees were paid to the delegation to China:—Lord Willingdon, £2,500 plus for entertainment expenses, £500; Dame Adelaide Anderson, £1,500; Professor W. E. Soothill, £1,500; Dr. Hu Shih, £1,500; Dr. T. V. Ting, £1,500; Dr. C. C. Wang, £1,500; Mr. R. F. Johnston (secretary), £1,000.

Officers and men of Chang Tsung-chang's army are promised a reward of twenty dollars for each woman spy they capture and allowed to retain their prisoners as wives, according to an order broadcast by the Shantung tupan last week. Specially bright detectives who apprehend more than one woman and succeed in getting a conviction against them may thus acquire harems and dowries in one movement. Chang is, in this measure, appealing to the sound business sense of his followers, adherents say. The order follows a report that more than 1,000 female spies are at work in the tupan's district.

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Has The Kuomintang Party Been Wrecked?

BY J. B. P.

There is no questioning the fact that deepest gloom pervades Chinese political circles as a result of the family quarrel which is now turning the Kuomintang brothers or comrades against each other and it is difficult to induce any of these leaders, at least in this part of the country, to discuss the situation impassionately. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining news from Hankow due to the telegraph delay ranging anywhere up to a week, it is next to impossible to learn what is going on there, but that conditions are serious goes without saying and it does not require the adverse propaganda which is being directed at the Hankow leaders by both foreigners and Chinese to prove that conditions are precarious at the Wu-Han Capital. If nothing else were wrong the presence of more than forty foreign battleships anchored along the Hankow waterfront with their guns trained on the city would be sufficient to create a tense situation.

The most interesting development at Hankow, if we are to believe the Japanese *Toho News Agency* reports, has been the rather sudden and abrupt about-face on the part of the Government authorities toward the labor unions which have been terrorizing the city and its foreign residents for so many weeks. The first of these reports, indicating that something unusual had happened at Hankow was dated April 30 and stated that the General Labor Union had issued new regulations prohibiting laborers from' wageing war on foreigners; from swindling or stealing from foreigners; from quarreling with foreigners; from detaining foreigners' goods; from invading foreign residences or shops; from circulating rumors adverse to foreigners; from posting placards of an anti-foreign nature; from holding anti-foreign demonstrations. Reasons for this action were given by the Japanese news service as being due to the fear of an advance up-river by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek for the purpose of attacking Hankow; apprehension regarding the situation in Honan Province to the north of Hankow where Chang Tso-ling was reported as advancing; and anxiety on the part of the Chinese merchants regarding possible hostile action on the part of the Powers including the possibility that the Powers might extend recognition to the Nanking Government.

Dr. C. C. Wu

Japanese Particularly Favored

While the Japanese news report stated that the Hankow Government was exerting itself to induce the foreigners to reopen their businesses and resume their normal activities, the Japanese seemed to be the only ones able to act, probably due to the fact that the Japanese were the only foreigners in Hankow with any business to transact. According to the report, the Hankow Government's instructions to the laborers had the effect of causing the laborers to return to work with the various Japanese concerns, particularly the shipping companies, which were thus able to remove several thousand tons of cargo consisting of Chinese raw products which had been stored for a considerable period.

In addition to this, there was also a report by the *Nationalist News Agency* to the effect the long dispute between the foreign banks and the labor unions had been patched up, the banks agreeing to pay the Chinese staff half their salaries during the strike period and also agreeing not to discharge any of the Chinese employes who were involved in the strike. The American newspaper in Hankow, the *Herald* was also permitted to resume publication in abbreviated form. The Japanese shipping companies on May 3 and 4 dispatched four cargo boats to Hankow under naval escort for the purpose of transporting cargoes down river.

The Military Situation in Honan

According to latest reports from Hankow, the Fengtien forces which have been advancing into Honan along the Pe ing-Hankow Railway have almost reached the Honan-Hupeh border and that Gen. Chin Yun ao's forces of Honanese troops (formerly belonging to Wu Pei-fu but which had gone over to the Nationalists) had practically disintegrated. As a result of this situation, Gen. Tang Shen-tse, the Nationalist commander in Hunan and Hupeh had proceeded to the Honan-Hupeh border with 60,000 troops for the purpose of opposing the advance of Fengtien troops into the Hankow region.

The advance of Fengtien through Honan has naturally led to considerable speculation regarding the whereabouts and intentions of the Christian General, Feng Yu-hsiang. A few weeks ago it was announced that Gen. Feng had made an agreement with Gen. Yan Hsi-shan, the governor of the socalled 'model' province of Shansi, to advance against Chang Tso-ling in Chihli Province both by way of Honan and also from the North in the vicinity of Kalgan. But for some reason neither Feng nor Yen have moved which has naturally led to the supposition that they are unfriendly toward the Hankow Government and do not care what becomes of it, even to the extent of permitting Fengtien to drive them out. However, this may all be Chinese strategy, otherwise a plan to draw Chang Tso-ling's forces down toward Hankow in other to be able to cut them off and disarm them at leisure.

Kuomintang Split Weakens Both Hankow and Nanking

Several days ago it appeared that Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, the Chihli general who formerly controlled the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Anhwei and Fukien, but who has now been reduced to a small stretch of territory in northern Kiangsu along the Grand Canal, was on the point of flopping over to the South, otherwise Nanking, and making an alliance with Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, but the advance of Fengtien in Honan has tended to give the Northern militarists renewed courage, so latest reports have it that Marshal Sun has broken off negotiations for the present and is now marking time. Gen. Chang Chung-chang, tupan of Shantung, has been able to prevent Gen. Chiang Kai-shek from crossing the Yangtsze at any point between Nanking and the sea and according to latest rumors Gen. Chang is sending a force westward into Anhwei along the Yangtsze with the intention of menacing the Nationalists' position at Anking and possibly at Kiukiang. In the meantime, Gen. Chang's force of White Russian mercenaries are in control of the city of Pukow, opposite Nanking and have been bombarding Nanking and creating considerable havoc in the section of Nanking along the waterfront and about the Shanghai-Nanking railway station. Gen. Chiang Kai-shek has of course been on the job and has been returning the fire from a battery located on Lion Hill in Nanking and the reports have it that there has been considerable destruction among the warehouses and and at the Tientsin-Pukow railway station in Pukow.

Gen. Chiang Disarms the "Reds"

Probably the most significant development among the Nationalist forces at Nanking was Gen. Chiang's action during the week in disarming the forces of Gen. Cheng Chien, the Nationalist general who was responsible for the capture of Nanking and whose troops allegedly were responsible for the outrages against the Nanking foreigners. According to the reports, Gen. Chiang, by a strategic move, suddenly cut the railway near Nanking and isolated some three divisions of Gen. Cheng's troops and disarmed them after a short fight in which some thirty or forty were killed. Gen. Cheng Chien, who left Nanking shortly after the arrival of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, and who has been staying at Kuling with a small force of his soldiers, has gone to Hankow, according to latest reports.

Gen. Chiang's 'Government'

As indicated in the consideration of the Nanking-Hankow split in these columns of *The Review* last week, all has not gone so well with the Nanking Government as the previous reports let the public to expect. However recent reports seem to give more encouragement as it is reported the Dr. C. C. Wu has finally decided to proceed to Nanking and will leave Shanghai the latter part of the present week. In addition to Dr. Wu's reported acceptance of the office of Foreign Minister, it is also reported that Wang Pei-chun has accepted the post of Minister of Communications. Mr. Wang is a brother-in-law of Gen. Ho Yin-chin, one of the Nationalist officers affiliated with Chiang Kai-shek and formerly held the position of Minister of Communications in the Canton Government.

From the Chinese Press

April 26—Wu-Han Government announces consolidation Wuchang, Hankow and Hsiakow into one municipality—Gen. Ho Yo-chu appointed commander martial law Nanking—Yang Yu-ting,behalf Chang Tso-ling, calls on Japanese Minister Yoshizawa regarding Chaoan Maru incident and reported Chinese planning apologize and pay indemnity-Gen Hsishan invites Wu Pei-fu to Taianfu for conference—Ankwei bandits attack town Hofie—Fengtien troops in Honan claim to have reached Hsiping—Nanking report states that Kuomintangists under New Yung-chen trying form Three People's Association for purpose of reviving Sun's principles in the Kuomintang—Admiral Yang Shu-chwang, and Generals Ho Yin-ching, Bei Tsung-chi, Chen Chian and others hold conference and decide to support Nanking Government; refuse to obey mandates of Hankow Government; invite all 'pure' Kuomintangists to Nanking; destroy all communism in China; continue unitedly against Chang Tso-ling—Remnants of Chen Chiung-ming's forces in Huilai, Haifeng and Liufeng areas of Kwangtung Province turn bandits and join citizen-soldiery—Cantonese students troops at Swatow clash with peasant troops—Subordinates in army of Gen. Tang Shen-tse at Hankow attempt to prevent Gen. Tang from joining the Hankow Government—Northern airplane drops bombs in Nanking, one falling near Chiang Kai-shek's yamen; hulk of Butterfield and Swire, British shipping Company, destroyed by fire in Nanking—Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Chinese labor unions reach agreement at Hankow whereby the Japanese will resume business both inside and outside of their Settlement--*Toho* dispatch from Hankow states that Gen. Yen Hsi-shan, tupan of the so-called model province of Shansi has joined the Nationalist cause and will cooperate with the Christian General Feng Yu-hsiang in launching an immediate attack on Chang Tso-ling at Peking by way of Honan and Suiyuan—British and Chinese practically reach agreement over rendition of British Concession at Tientsin.

April 27—*Kuo Wen* Agency dispatch from Peking states that the Ministers of the Five Powers have met in Peking and owing to the opposition of the American Government to the strong action recommended by the British, French and Italian Governments, the Powers would not take drastic action in respect to the Nanking incidents—British and Chinese reach agreement regarding retrocession of Tientsin Concession, the new Council to be composed of three Chinese, three Britons and a Chinese chairman appointed by the Central Government—Nationalist troops construct trenches at Kaotze, near Chinkiang in preparation for launching a drive against the Northern forces on the North bank of the Yangtsze—Chang Tso-ling visits the Tangshan Hills near Peking and eulogizes the excellent water in the hot springs—Peking finances go from bad to worse with clerical staffs in Government offices only receiving 40 percent of their salaries; Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce disposes of the premises of the Technical Bureau for $42,000 in order to raise funds; Ministry of Foreign Affairs asks Customs Administration for loan of $100,000 for purpose of paying salaries of Chinese diplomats abroad—Chang Tso-ling orders construction of arsenal at Shanhaikwan with Yang Yu-ting in charge—Nanking Government announces that in future those desiring to obtain offices in the government must pass an examination—Chang Tso-ling transfers whole of aerial squadron from Mukden to Shanhaikwan under Col. Wang Shou-tang—Japanese gunboats Hotsu and Toba and N. K. K. Steamer Yunyang Maru which left Chungking with Japanese refugees will arrive in Hankow on April 30—Deposit pass books of bank of Taiwan in Canton are being sold for 20 to 30 percent discount and Chinese Commerce Chamber telegraphs to Japanese Premier Tanaka for relief—Chang Tso-ling's translation bureau claims documents seized in Soviet Embassy raid show the Southern military received $12,000,000 from Russia, including arms in the past year—Fengtien troops in Honan claim to have reached Yencheng on the Peking-Hankow Railway—Movement grows in Peking for making Chang Tso-ling 'Generalissimo' in the Ankuochun or Fengtien forces—U. S. Gunboat Penguin fired on near Kiangyin and several sailors wounded—Foreigners still awaiting means for evacuating Chungking include 117 Japanese, 2 Americans, 5 Germans and 2 Norwegians—Japanese *Toho* Agency report from Peking states that owing to America's opposition to strong action Britain, France and Italy have been forced to recede from their drastic intentions in respect to the Nanking incidents and that Japan is mediating in order to get the Powers together for a reply to the Chen Notes, it being thought that the reply will simply reiterate the previous demand for reparations and punishment of those responsible and

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await the reply of the Nationalist Government before proceeding further. Artillery duel continues between Nanking and Pukow while Chiang Kai-shek makes preparations for transporting troops across the river.

April 28—Japanese Minister Yoshizawa presents demands to Peking Government for indemnification for recent firing on and delaying of steamer Chaoan Maru in Tientsin harbor—Twenty alleged Chinese communists arrested in the course of the raid on the Soviet Embassy, were executed by Chang Tso-ling, the special military court hearing their cases being headed by Gen. Ho Feng-lin, the old Anfu General formerly defense commissioner at Shanghai—Chang Tso-ling announces intentions of visiting the Northern defense lines in Honan and Northern Kiangsu for the purpose of improving the morale of the troops, but reports start rumors that Chang is trying to come to an understanding with the Nationalists at Hankow and Nanking—Cantonese troops affiliated with the Hankow faction attacked bo Gen. Chen Tiao-yuan at Taiping, Anhwei—Forces of Gen. Chu Pei-teh of Southern faction arrive at Kiukiang and Chiang Kai-shek sends representative to determine which side Gen. Chu is with—Chang Tso-ling issues declaration that it is impossible for him to form an alliance with Chiang Kai-shek unless Chiang will cut loose entirely from Moscow—Chinese Communists in Peking were executed by strangulation instead of beheading as previously reported—Chao Hsin-pai, who was sent to Japan by Chang Tso-ling announces that the reason for his trip was to arrange for Japanese help in reorganizing the Chinese judicial system—Shells fired by Northern forces in Pukow destroy the Nanking Railway station; southerners reply with batteries from Lion Hill, Nanking—*Kuo Wen* report states that certain foreign minister trying to bring about understanding between North and South unfounded—Gen. Tang Shen-tse, who previously reported favorable to Nanking faction, now reported to be wavering—Hankow government agrees to withdraw all soldiers and 'gunmen' from the borders of the Japanese concession at Hankow—Two additional British warcraft arrive at Hankow making British total 10 and total foreign gunboats more than 50—Chang Tso-ling orders Minister of Foreign Affairs in Peking to apologize for Chaoan Maru incident at Tientsin—Wellington Koo reports to Cabinet Meeting regarding progress being made in Sino-French and Sino-Japanese treaties and again tries to resign from the premiership—Peking report states that British and Italian attitude regarding the second Nanking note is becoming milder—Quo Tai-chi, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, upon instructions of local Political Committee takes over control of Chinese General Chamber of Commerce and issues order for the arrest of Chairman Fu Siao-en on grounds that Fu's election was irregular and that he advanced large sums of money to Marshal Sun Chuan-fang against the Nationalists—Chang Tso-ling continues to disclose contents of documents seized in SovietEmbassy raid showing alleged Soviet financing of Nationalists—Chiang Kai-shek decides to attack Yangchow on Grand Canal—*Kuo Wen* report states that reason for delay of Powers in sending second Nanking Note is due to difference of opinion on part of diplomats, the British, French and Italians pressing for armed intervention and America and Japan refusing; reported that Japan is disgusted and may withdraw from the Five Power Group and that MacMurray, American Minister may publish his note independently of European Powers—Hankow authorities announce organization of special police to guard borders of Japanese Concession—Reported again that Sun Chuan-fang is negotiating for a surrender of his troops in northern Kiangsu along the grand Canal to Chiang Kai-shek—*Kuo Wen* report states that the Japanese have practically settled their troubles with the Hankow Government and that Japanese business will shortly resume.

April 29—Chinese journalists in Shanghai form organization and announce that beginning on May 1 they will refuse to work on Sundays; Chinese press associations also announce that they will not send out reports on Sundays—Nationalists at Shanghai announce plans for reorganizing the government of the Shanghai-Woosung area with departments for public safety, engineering, revenue, education, health and reconstruction—Gen-Bei Tsung-chi, local Nationalist defense commissioner issues warrent for arrest of Fu Siao-en, former chairman of Chinese General Chamber of Commerce—Sun Chuan-fang announces appointment of new officials in Northern Kiangsu—Serious fire at Nanking destroys the Middle School of National Southeastern University—Peking dispatch by *Kuo Wen* states that Yang Sen, cooperating with Chiang Kai-shek in Szechuen will advance into Hupeh with 80,000 troops—Fengtien troops in Honan claim to have advanced to within 25 li of Hsinyang and that Gen. Chin Yun-ao's troops have retreated toward Hupeh border—*Kuo Wen* report states that Gen. Yen Hsi-shen's troops are still stationed at Suiyuan—Japanese resume business in Hankow—Another *Kuo Wen* report from Peking states that Gen. Yen Hsi-shan's policy will be to remain at home and defend his province and that he has not made an alliance with the Christian General Feng Yu-hsiang to advance on Chang Tso-ling in Peking and that Gen. Yen while agreeing to Dr. Sun's principles is opposed to communism—Reported that Chang Tso-ling has decided to execute a number of Russians who were arrested in the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking; among the Chinese who were arrested for alleged communistic activities in Peking were Tan Tsu-yao, Lu Yu-yu, Li Ta-chao and a woman Chang Yu-lan; other prisoners are to receive terms ranging up to 12 years; corpses of those who were killed by strangulation removed to a temple outside of Peking—Yang Yuting, chief of the Fengtien party goes to Mukden to investigate the serious financial situation—Wellington Koo issues statement regarding execution of alleged Communists by Chang Tso-ling stating that he had nothing to do with the action and that it was the natural outcome of the military autocratic government functioning in Peking.

April 30—May 1—Wife and daughter of Peking communist Li Ta-chao, who was killed by strangulation along with other alleged communists arrested in the raid on the Soviet Embassy, were released—Shantung military authorities plan to send Mrs. Borodin to Peking for trial—Northern militarists including Chang Chung-chang, Chu Yu-puh and others planning to urge Chang Tso-ling to assume direct charge of affairs at Peking, both military and civil—Chang Tso-ling sends telegram to Generals Chang Chung-chang, Chu Yu-puh, Tang Yu-lin, Kao Wei-yao, Wu Chung-sun, Chang Tso-hsiang and Sun Chuan-fang, instructing them to protect missionaries—Hankow report states that Gen. Liu Tso-lung has decided to denounce the communists and declare his allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek—Chang Tso-ling decides to abolish all unnecessary officials in Peking Government—*Kuo Wen* agency report states that Gen. Tang Chi-yao in Yunnan has offered to support Chang Tso-ling—Unconfirmed report that Pengpu on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway in Anhwei has been captured by the Nationalists—Generals Chang Fa-kwei and Tang Shen-tse leave Hankow for Honan front—Japanese *Toho* reports from Hankow tell of sudden change in attitude of Wu-Han Government stating that Wu-Han Peace Preservation Committee will attempt to prevent further threatening actions against foreigners and adopting conciliatory measures toward foreigners; mass meeting of laborers decides not to harass foreigners in future and threatens drastic action against anyone disobeying the Government's announced policy of protecting foreigners; Peace Preservation Committee composed of Foreign Minister, commanders of defense forces, representative of labor unions, picket corps, Wu-Han city administration,—Reported that Borodin advising Wu-Han Government to come to an understanding with Japan—*Toho* report from Peking states that owing to the likelihood that America may shortly open negotiations with the Nationalist Government regarding the Nanking incidents, Britain is trying to get the other Governments France, Japan and Italy to act without America; report states that Japan is trying to reconcile the opposing views—*Toho* report states that changed attitude at Hankow illustrated by coolies returning to work for Japanese concerns and that the cause of the change was fear that Chiang Kai-shek was planning to proceed up the Yangtsze; increase in unemployment; fear that Powers attitude might stiffen; fear that Powers might recognize Nanking; unfavorable situation in Honan where Fengtien reported advancing; Chinese merchants and financial interests fearing complications with Powers—*Toho* report also states that the situation has quieted in Hankow and that laborers have resumed unloading of cargoes at Japanese wharves—Chinese laborers at Hankow, through Labor Union, pass resolutions urging protection of foreigners; prohibiting theft of foreign goods; cease quarreling with foreigners; cease holding up or interfering with foreign goods; cease overcharging foreigners for services; cease invading foreign residents or shops; cease spreading wild rumors; cease carrying arms; cease assembling for purposes of agitating against foreigners—Chinese police forces in Peking finally withdraws from Soviet Embassy—Fengtien forces claim to have captured Yenchong in Honan—Peking Foreign Office refuses to reply to inquiry from Soviet regarding welfare Russians arrested in Soviet Embassy raid—Practically all Japanese firms resume business in Hankow and start loading cargoes for shipment down river.

China's Challenge And The Revolt of Asia*

BY JOHN CARTER
in the New York Times

FIVE years ago the Kemalist troops turned north from the ashes of Smyrna and marched resolutely until they were pressing dangerously close to a small British garrison at Chanak, on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles. Great Britain then resounded with martial preparations; troopships sailed with every tide; a formidable armada gathered in Near Eastern waters; the Dominions were invited to rally against the Turk; the Balkans were sounded for a new Crusade against the Moslem. In the end, Great Britain—diplomatically isolated—backed down, tore up the "unequal treaty" which the Allies had imposed upon the Ottoman Government at Severs two years earlier, and, her bluff called by Ismet Pasha, signed the Treaty of Lausanne, abandoning not only much of the results of the successful war against Turkey but also the special status of foreigners embodied in the "Capitulations." This incident, which takes its name from Chanak, is now interpreted as marking the beginning of the end of white dominance of Asia.

Actually, as "Upton Close" (Josef Washington Hall) reveals in his able, lucid and constructive study of the subject, the roots go much deeper than this isolated instance. Here is a book, so timely as to be almost inspired, which contains an accurate and apposite analysis of the chief elements in the present situation (now focusing at Shanghai and, generally, in China) and then goes on to present one of most constructive and helpful syntheses of the discordant elements in the problem which has recently appeared. Accepting the liberation of Asia from Western domination as a foregone conclusion, he seeks to look ahead to a peaceful integration of East and West in the coming "Era of the Pacific," with China, Russia and the United States taking place as the three greatest nations of the world, with Japan's ambitions harmonized to their triangular inter-relations much as Great Britain has become the intermediary between Europe and the Americas, and with Britain's Asiatic empire reduced to its essentials—an empire of commerce rather than of the sword. It is a bold answer to a pressing problem, but one urged with persuasiveness and intelligence. The book deserves to receive prompt and thoughtful consideration by the American people and their Government at Washington.

At the moment, events have—with that appositeness characterized as poetic—centred about the ancient City of Nanking. At Nanking, in 1842, the British wrung from the Chinese the first of those so-called "unequal treaties" upon which the whole subsequent structure of white dominance in Eastern Asia was reared. At Nanking repose the ashes of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the revolution of 1911 and inspirer of the present Cantonese Nationalist movement. At Nanking, but recently, British and American naval units cooperated in rescuing the foreign colony at the cost of Chinese and foreign blood. At the moment, the United States stands at the cross-roads envisaged by Mr. Hall when he wrote that.

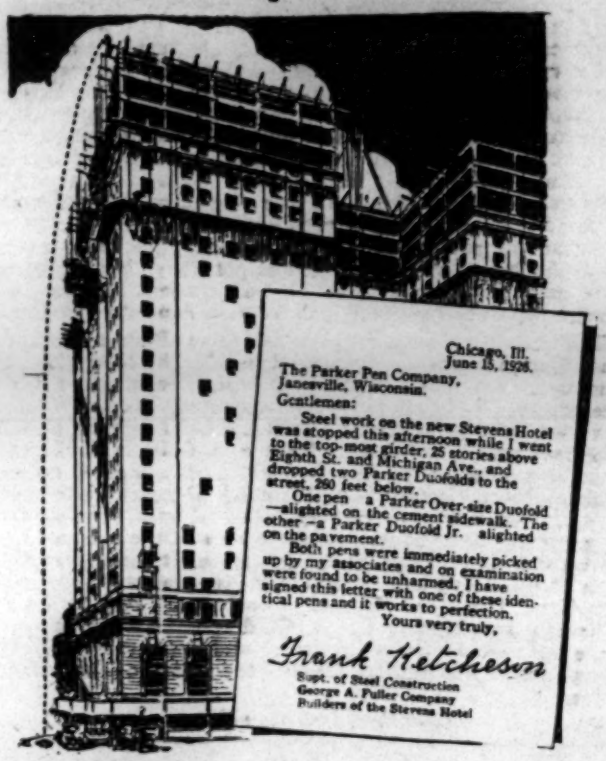
Here is where the next world war will start unless we forestall it. * * * Are Americans big enough to recognize, even to the point of sacrifice, the logical working of the ideas they have planted?

Faced with the drama of great events, it is worth while to consider the analysis this book affords of how things have reached this pass. The roots of the matter go very deep, and perhaps Mr. Hall is guilty of oversimplification when he assigns the loss of white dominion to Western education, the American "Open Door" and kindred policies, the World War and Russia's ostracism from the family of nations. The first tangible step, the first break in solid front, was when Great Britain supported Japan in the war against Russia in 1904. At this time Great Britain was pressing Russia hard, with Japan in the East and with Germany (through a ten-year treaty for German "peaceful penetration" of Poland) in the West. In 1914 Russia declined to renew the latter agreement, England then feared the Kaiser more than the Czar, and hence, according to this author, came catastrophe:

German industry and finance could not consent to discontinue their fruitful advance into Poland and the Kaiser saw circles being drawn around his place in the sun. Result: the World War. There were in addition some lesser motives and "extenuating circumstances," of course. There are in every crime.

**The Revolt of Asia: The End of the White Man's Dominance. By Upton Close (Josef Washington Hall). 325 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.*

Hurled 25 Stories to Cement-Picked Up Unbroken!


Chicago, Ill.
June 15, 1926.
The Parker Pen Company,
Janesville, Wisconsin.
Gentlemen:
Steel work on the new Stevens Hotel was stopped this afternoon while I went to the top-most girder, 25 stories above Eighth St. and Michigan Ave., and dropped two Parker Duofolds to the street, 250 feet below.
One pen a Parker Over-size Duofold —alighted on the cement sidewalk. The other —a Parker Duofold Jr. alighted on the pavement.
Both pens were immediately picked up by my associates and on examination were found to be unharmed. I have signed this letter with one of these identical pens and it works to perfection.
Yours very truly,
Frank Ketcheson
Supt. of Steel Construction
George A. Fuller Company
Builders of the Stevens Hotel

Where the Pens Landed

Traffic stopped to watch this test of the Parker Duofold Non-Breakable Barrel

Point Guaranteed 25 years for mechanical perfection and wear

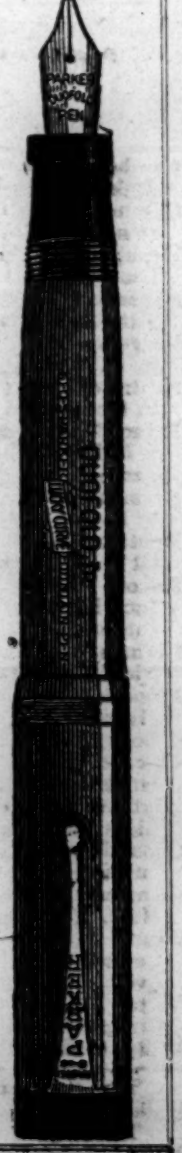
TRAFFIC stopped as big Frank Ketcheson, Supt. of Steel Construction for the George A. Fuller Co., hurled two Parker Doufold Pens from his perilous foothold on a slender steel girder atop of the new Stevens Hotel, Chicago.

One pen struck on asphalt, the other on cement—away they bounded into the air, then landed in the street—unbroken!

We wanted to give the public proof more convincing than any guarantee. So we have shown by a series of heroic tests that the new Parker Duofold Pen with Permanite barrel does not break. Be sure no fall on corridor or classroom floor can harm it.

Get this sturdy black-tipped lacquer-red beauty at any good pen counter.

"Permanite"—the new Non-Breakable Material of which all Parker Pens and Pencils are now made—is lustrous, light-weight, and does not break, fade or shrink



Sole Wholesale Agents:

Dodge & Seymour (China) Ltd.

3 Canton Road, Shanghai

Parker Duofold OVER-SIZE $14

The process, begun by Japan's adoption of Western methods, continued apace with the war. The scandal of the white race, enaged in an internecine war to the knife, both weakened the power of the West and led to inconsistencies. The Chinese were encouraged to drive out the Germans and to retract extraterritoriality. Then Russia was ostracized. Though careful to point out that "Russia's relation to Asia is the normal culmination of her history and geographical expression," Mr. Hall demonstrates that the fact that Russia was compelled to throw in her lot with the Asiatics was decisive at the moment. Russia invented a new policy for the frank expansionism of the Czardom, a policy which Mr. Hall terms "enlightened imperialism." Russia encouraged the Kemalist Turk to throw off the Western yoke; Russia returned her special rights to the Chinese and to the Persians; and Russia in consequence, is dominating the destinies of Asia at the moment. "Approve it or not," says Mr. Hall, "it is the most portentous piece of enlightened international philanthropy since France helped to make America a nation."

The author maintains that in 1919 Great Britain launched a vast imperial design against Russia. The Near East, he points out, was under British control, Persia was made a Protectorate, the Caucasus was occupied, British troops intervened in South Russia, Archangel and Siberia, British power invaded Afghanistan, Tibet and Chinese Turkestan, Russia was plagued by the foreign, and to a great extent, British-sponsored invasions by Wrangel, Denekin, Udenitch, Kolchak, Semenoff and Ungern. But Russia, through her new game of diplomacy, called the turn on the old mode of imperialism. Unrest swept over India, Egypt and other parts of the British Empire. Persia and Afghanistan tore themselves loose from the British connection. Today, in China the British are fighting a rear-guard action against the vast menace to vested British political and economic interests centring about the Indian Ocean—the heart of the British Empire.

(*Continued on page VI*)

American Gold Bond Quotations

Name of Security	Coupon Rate %	Date of Maturity	Sale Price April 18th.	Sale Price April 18th, Approx. Yield to Maturity April 18th.
Czecho-Slovak Govt. Sinking Fund Loan...	8	Oct. 1, 1952	108⅜	108⅝ 7.25
Czecho Slovak Government Ext. S.F. Loan..	7½	Oct. 1, 1945	105¾	105⅞ 6.95
Republic of Chile S. F. Loan	7	Nov 1, 1942	100½	100 7.00
Argentine Government Ext. S. F. Loan.....	6	May. 1, 1960	99¾	99½ 6.05
Kingdom of Italy, Ext. S. F. Loan.....	7	Dec. 1, 1951	96¼	95¾ 7.40
Austrian Government S. F. Guaranteed Loan..	7	June 1, 1943	104½	102 6.80
French Government Ext. S. F. Loan.....	8	Sep. 15, 1945	100	110 7.00
Japanese Govt. (£)	5	1907/1947	78¼	75⅞ 7.30
German Governments S. F. Loan.....	7	Oct. 1, 1949	107¾	107½ 6.40
Deutsche Renten Bank 1st Lien Farm Loan	7	Sept. 15, 1950	102⅛	102⅜ 6.75
Saxon Public Works Inc. 1st Mtge. Guaranteed S. F. Loan....	7	Feb. 1. 1945	103	101⅜ 6.85
German General Electric Co. S.F. Loan....	7	Jan. 15, 1945	104⅛	105 6.50
Finnish Guaranteed Municipalities S. F. Loan	6½	Oct. 1, 1954	98½	99½ 6.55
Chicago Rapid Transit 1st. & Refunding Mtge.	6⅛	July 1, 1944	98½	98½ 6.65
Northern Ohio Power & Light Co. Debentures .	6½	Jan. 1, 1941	98⅝	98½ 6.65
Cuban Domin. Sugar Co. 1st Lien S. F. Loan...	7½	Nov. 1, 1944	100½	100⅝ 7.40
Camaguey Sugar Co. 1st. Mtge. S. F. Loan	7	Oct. 15, 1942	100½	102⅛ 6.75
Pennsylvania Dixie Cement Corpn. Cumulative	7	Pfd. Stock	100	99½ 7.04
Victor Talking Manchine Company Cum. Prior..	7	Pfd. Stock	98	99¼ 7.05
Willys Overland Co.....	7	Pfd. Stock	91½	91 7.69

The National City Company, The National City Bank Building, No. 2A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai, China.

These quotations are subject to confirmation by the National City Company of New York.

In the American Consular Court for the District of Shanghai, China.

In re Estate of THOMAS FRANCIS DOYLE, Deceased.	Estate No. 84 NOTICE Filed April 26, 1927 Shanghai, China JAMES M. HOWES Clerk of the U.S. Court for China

Pursuant to an Order of said Court, notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against the estate of THOMAS FRANCIS DOYLE, deceased, to present the same with vouchers to the undersigned, on or before October 30th, 1927, and all persons owing debts to said deceased are hereby notified to make payment of the same in due course to the undersigned.

LUCY DOYLE

Address:
c/o Savay Hotel
Shanghai.

BACK COPIES WANTED

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May	9	,,	,,	32	,,	10
June	27	,,	,,	33	,,	4
,,	20	,,	,,	,,	,,	3
September	12	,,	,,	34	,,	2
,,	26	,,	,,	,,	,,	4
December	26	,,	,,	35	,,	4
August	14	1926	,,	37	,,	11
,,	28	,,	,,	,,	,,	13
September	4	,,	,,	38	,,	1
,,	25	,,	,,	,,	,,	3
October	9	,,	,,	,,	,,	6
,,	16	,,	,,	,,	,,	7
,,	23	,,	,,	,,	,,	8
,,	30	,,	,,	,,	,,	9
November	6	,,	,,	,,	,,	10
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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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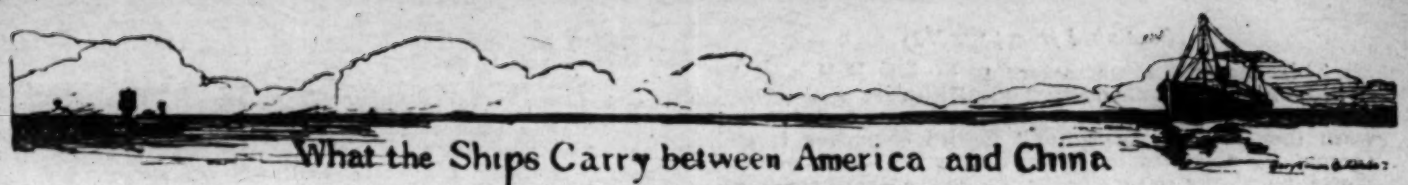

What the Ships Carry between America and China

Return of the Shanghai Customs

Pls.—1 Picul or 133 1/3 pounds; Bls.—Bales; Pcs.—Pieces; Mill's—thousands; Hk. Tls.—Haikwan Tls., Aug. Customs Rate Tls. 1.49 equal Gold $1

TAKETOYO MARU,
March 26.

To San Francisco.

Silk, Piece Goods, Shanghai	Pls.	5.51
Silk Pongees, Honan	,,	2.19
Tea, Green:		
Gunpowder, Ningpo	,,	1,279
,, other Ports	,,	169
Feathers	,,	57
Rags, Cotton	,,	984

To New Orleans.

Cotton Waste	,,	188

To Philadelphia.

Cotton Waste	,,	195
Skins, Goat, Untanned	,,	107

To Boston.

Silk Waste: Shanghai Bls. 12	Pls.	38.99
Cotton, Waste	,,	28
Nutgalls	,,	330

To New York.

Silk, Raw, Re-reeled: White, other Ports Bls. 59	Pls.	60 22
Silk, Raw, Steam Filature: White, other Ports Bls. 20	Pls.	20.30
Silk, Raw, Filature: Wild, other Ports Bls. 10	Pls.	10.80
Silk Pongees, Honan	,,	10.76
Tea, Black, other Kinds, Hankow	,,	1
Tea, Green:— Gunpowder, Ningpo	,,	591
Antimony, Crude	,,	840
,, Regulus	,,	4,200
,, Oxide	,,	420
Beans	,,	375
Bristles, Assorted	,,	60
Cotton, Waste	,,	102
Egg Albumen, Dried	,,	98
Feathers	,,	99
Hair, Human	,,	37
Intestines, Pig,' Salted	,,	22
Wool, Sheep's	,,	45
Eggs, Fresh	Mille	4
Hats, Rush	Pcs.	171,606
Skins, Goat, Untanned	,,	2,500

SHINPING, March 30.

To Tientsin.

Foreign Goods.

Steel Bar Ends	Pls.	1,382
,, Bars	,,	20
,, Cobbles	,,	50
,, Hoops	,,	100
,, Scraps, Old	,,	150
,, Plate Cuttings	,,	480
,, Sheets	,,	226
Steel, Galvanized: Wire Shorts	,,	333
Flour, Wheat Amer.	,,	735
Matches	Gross	750

Chinese Goods.

Ginger, Fresh	Pls.	414
Flour, Wheat	,,	19,845
Oranges, Fresh	,,	350
Paper	,,	1,268
Turmeric	,,	135
Walnuts, Fresh	,,	126

WHEATLAND MONTANA,
April 1.

From U S. A.

Timber: Softwood, Clear	Sup. ft.	518,214
Softwood, Merchantable	,,	3,049

PRESIDENT MADISON,
April 1.

From Manila.

Betelnut Husk, Dried	Pls.	21
Mangoes, Fresh	,,	61
Oil, Essential	,,	6
Rope, Manila	,,	87
Sugar, Green	,,	3,318
Beer	Doz.	225
Brandy	,,	100
Cigars	Mille	298
Cigarettes	,,	120

PAWLET, April 1.

from U. S. A.

Asphaltum	Pls.	12,008
Oil, Lubricating, Mineral	Galls.	31,131
,, Kerosene, in bulk	,,	8,100
,, ,, ,, Cases	,,	361,000

EMPRESS OF CANADA,
April 2.

To Boston.

Walnuts, Kernels	Pls.	226

To Scranton.

Silk, Raw Steam Filature: White, Shanghai Bls. 12	Pls.	12.06

To Georgetown.

Pongees, Shantung	,,	3

To New York.

Silk, Raw, Steam Filature: White, Shanghai Bls. 10	,,	10.38
Silk, Raw Filature: Wild, other Ports Bls. 151	,,	155.23
Pongees, Honan	,,	18.96
Chinaware, Fine	,,	11
Feathers, Duck	,,	99
Walnuts, Kernels	,,	251
Skins, Cat, Wild	Pcs.	2,000
,, Kid, Untanned	,,	2,926
,, Fox	,,	1,238
,, Lamb	,,	13,973
,, Mole	,,	9,060
,, Raccoon	,,	6,700
,, Leopard	,,	319
,, Sheep	,,	4,644
,, Squirrel	,,	36,300
,, Weasel	,,	9,550
,, Unclassed	,,	3,300
Skin Crosses, Kid	,,	520
Hats, Rush	,,	30,600

To Chicago.

Silk, Raw, Filature: Wild, other Ports Bls. 200	,,	204.50
Intestines, Pigs'	,,	23
,, Sheep	,,	18

Foreign Goods.

Handkerchiefs, Linen	Doz.	3,023

TENYO MARU, April 6.

To San Francisco

Tea, Green: Gunpowder, Shanghai	Pls.	463
Gunpowder, other Ports	,,	254
Cotton Rags	,,	2,398

To Houston.

Hair, Human	,,	85

To Philadelphia.

Skins, Goat, Untanned	,,	392

To Boston.

Skins, Goat, Untanned	,,	13

To New York.

Silk, Raw, Re-reeled: White, other Ports Bls. 60	,,	61.91
Silk, Raw, Steam Filature: White, Shanghai Bls. 25	,,	25.03
Wild, other Ports Bls. 120	,,	121.75
Skins, Kid, Untanned	Pcs.	3,835
,, Lamp	,,	4,400

Weekly Cotton Market Report

By J. Spunt & Co.

China Cotton:—Although the demand for the local staple during the past week showed no improvement on what transpirped in the preceding period prices on the whole maintained a steady position showing firmness only when any tentative demand arose on the part of spinners. Yarn values have slightly appreciated and any further improvement in this direction will naturally engender a rise in the rates on whatever is still available of the end season cotton and from what is at the moment discernible, there is little likelihood of any considerable recession in prices eventuating on balances of stocks in the interior marts, until a little more can be ascertained about the growing conditions of the coming crop. Mid-Americans, on the other hand, are still in an upward tendency brought about by unfavourable crop conditions and serious flood damage in the Mississippi Valley.

Having the foregoing in view and taking into consideration the existing higher value on foreign cotton prohibiting importations so long as passably equivalent grades are procurable at lower figures in domestic markets, the only deduction to be made therefrom by consumers, is to take advantage of offerings at current rates both for immediate and future requirements and thereby secure to themselves eventually more profitable results.

Yarns:—We have no change to report in the fundamental conditions of the local yarn market, in that prices ruling are nearly the same as last week. In all some 10000 to 11000 bales of various caunts and chops of local products have changed hands for export to Tientsin, Newchang, Szechuen, Canton, Swatow, Yunnan, Kiangse and other interior ports.

Liverpool:—

American-Middling	8.45
American-Middling last reported	7.89

Tone of Market, *Steady*.

Indian Market:—

Fully Good Bengal, May	278
Fine Oomra, May	291
Fully Good Broach, A./M.	305

Tone of the market—*Steady*.

New York Market:—

Price of Mid-Amer.	15.35 Sept.
	15.05 May.
	15.33 July.
	15.64 Oct.
	15.82 Dec.
	15.88 Jan.

Tone of the market:—*Firm*.

Shanghai Market:—

	Tls.
Tungchow, spot exwharf	31.40
Shanghai, Spot	30.50
M. Ginned, Spot	31.25
Shensi, No. 1 Spot	31.50
Ningpo, Spot, Exwharf	30.40

Tone of the market—*Steady*.

Heavy Decline in Egg Business Last Year

Despite the fact that exports on the whole from China last year to America increased about ten per cent, there was a considerable slump in the export of egg products from Shanghai in 1926. During the first six months of the year which include the normal busy season in the egg business, prices in the United States were so low as to preclude shipments from China. The demand for eggs from China was unusually large in the European market and this doubtless helped to force up local prices. Another factor which influenced prices was the difficulty encountered in obtaining adequate transportation facilities from interior points of supply. These conditions were reflected in exports to the United States, which dropped from 13,028,000 pounds valued at $3,969,000 in 1925 to 4,790,000 pounds valued at $1,822,000 in 1926—a decline of about 63 per cent in quantity.

(*Continued from page 272*)

This does not mean, according to Mr. Hall, that the British Empire is doomed. The British have a skilled diplomacy and a happy and engaging faculty for admitting when they are "up against it." British commerce is still enormously powerful in Egypt, Turkey and Persia, and has shown an ability to survive the change in political and territorial status. Here is the way out, honorable and safe, for the British Empire, for Mr. Hall observes if it can make its vassals into nations, grappling them to it with steel hoops of friendship in place of the iron bonds of militarism, if it can quicken its executives and inspirit its laborers, it will have assured unto itself the same glorious place in the new era of enlightened imperialism that it enjoyed in the now closing age of political domination.

This means giving up India, moderating the British hunger for high dividends, relinquishing the insignia of power to retain the true sources of political power and the bond of international relations—economic and commercial predominance based on superior ability in certain fields. It is a daring idea, but no one who has observed Britain's post-Lausanne diplomacy toward the Turks can doubt that it is feasible.

In the meantime, the British find themselves with an awkward situation on their hands in China. The boycott has nearly ruined Hongkong. Much as at Chanak against the Turks, the British are making a last bold "face-saving" stand against the Chinese in order to make an even bolder concession afterward, with dignity and fair dealing as the basis for a new dispensation. In the meantime, they are very "fed up" with being the objects of Chinese hostility and, in Mr. Hall's view, are casting around with the object of letting Uncle Sam do the dirty work and get a share of the blame.

In this possiblity he sees the most ominous aspect of the present situation. "America could and should take the lead," he quotes an "old China hand" as saying. We have no great stake in the Orient, at least none to compare with Britain's or Japan's—as yet—and we are notorious sticklers for principle. He cites our stubbornness regarding the League of Nations, the war debts and the recognition of Russia as proof of this latter contention. Besides, our pliable conduct of recent years points us out as the logical victim:

Uncle Sam is not particularly altruistic from the outsider's point of view, but he is very sentimental. He was persuaded that he ought to save France. He once was almost persuaded that he ought to fight the Turk; that he ought to take charge of Armenia (incidentally protecting Great Britain's grabs in the Caucasus). He was convinced that he ought to stand for civilization against perverted Russia. Now, he ought to champion the white man's prestige in an awakened Asia. He ought to protect Shanghai. Great Britain should not be expected to do it any longer. It is costing her too much.

Such irony only lends point to the growing sentiment in this country that America must pursue a divergent course in China. Paradoxically enough, Russia's policy and our own—for a strong, autonomous, nationalist China—are virtually identical. Mr. Hall cites the long diplomatic record as well as the idealism of Woodrow Wilson and of earlier (and later) American statesmen, to demonstrate the cogency of this inference. Certainly, our interest in China is not approximate to that of the British, despite the latter's recent change in attitude toward the "unequal treaties" and the privileges which they confer; nor do we share Japan's apprehensions lest China turn Japanese investments against the industries of the Island Empire.

If we keep our head, in Mr. Hall's view, we have it in our power to turn into peaceful channels the present tension between East and West. Asia, he demonstrates, has always dominated American destinies. Columbus was looking for Asia when he discovered the Western Hemisphere—to mention but one link in a strong chain of undoubted fact. "Pacific Asia is no longer our 'Far' but our Near East," Although Ghandi asserts that "you want your spiritual enterprise insured against loss," and although sooner or later we must decide whether to annex, abandon or bully the Philippines, fundamentally our rôle is assured and our position sound. Here is where Mr. Hall believes we can lay the ghost of the Yellow Peril, so far as it relates to Japan.

With expansionism abandoned, intensive industrialism is taken up as the method of caring for Japan's large population and improving the standard of living. But this requires three things in addition to the working population—a source for raw materials, a market for finished products, and capital. Asiatic Russia and China can supply the raw materials, and China, Malaysia and India the chief markets; America, alone, is able to supply the capital necessary, for she is the world's banker. * * * In this coming "Era of the Pacific," America greatly needs a friendly Japan that stands upon its own feet. It is the feeling of progressive leaders that the creation of such a Japan lies within the power of American capital.

This is America's God-given opportunity, not to make one of the Asiatic nations its economic vassal or even special friend, but to demonstrate the practical expression which America's enlightened imperialism is prepared to take toward all Asia.

This synthesis of the Pacific problem is, doubtless, in error to some degree and, perhaps, overoptimistic; yet it is statesmanlike in its breadth and refreshing in its idealism. Moreover, it contains elements of soundness, if only in that it provides for mutual sacrifice for future benefits; Japan to renounce expansion, America to renounce the Philippines, Great Britain to renounce India, Russia to abandon her fruitful drive against all three powers, and China to halt her anti-foreignism on her own threshold. Startling as it is, it is postulated on considerations which the author enumerates with painful clarity:

First, Western control of Asia for profit, political or commercial, is discredited and in collapse.

Second, the general and conscious demand of Asian peoples for control of their own destiny nullifies the white man's responsibility for their welfare.

Third, legitimate Western interests and properties and lives of individuals stand a fair chance of protection under the native sovereignties in prospect.

Fourth, the Asian nations have lost their fear of the white man and are carrying forward their program resolutely. No longer can bluff deter them.

Fifth, the Western powers, with the sole exception of America, frankly lack the abilty to resist Asia's revolt.

Sixth, America is the only power that may make resistance of the white race to the ending of its world domination possible.

Seventh, attempts to check the haste of the Asian movements by military demonstrations work the opposite result.

Eighth, Asia's movement thus far is entirely directed against the Westerner on Asia shores. There is not the bud, thus far, of an offensive against the white man in his own countries.

Certainly, "Upton Close" has written a valuable and far-sighted study of the bases of the present crisis in world affairs. "The Revolt of Asia" deserves to be read by every American who has it in him to respond to Manuel Quezon's statement of the underlying moral issue between the East and West: "We would rather be governed like hell and do it ourselves than like heaven and have it done for us."

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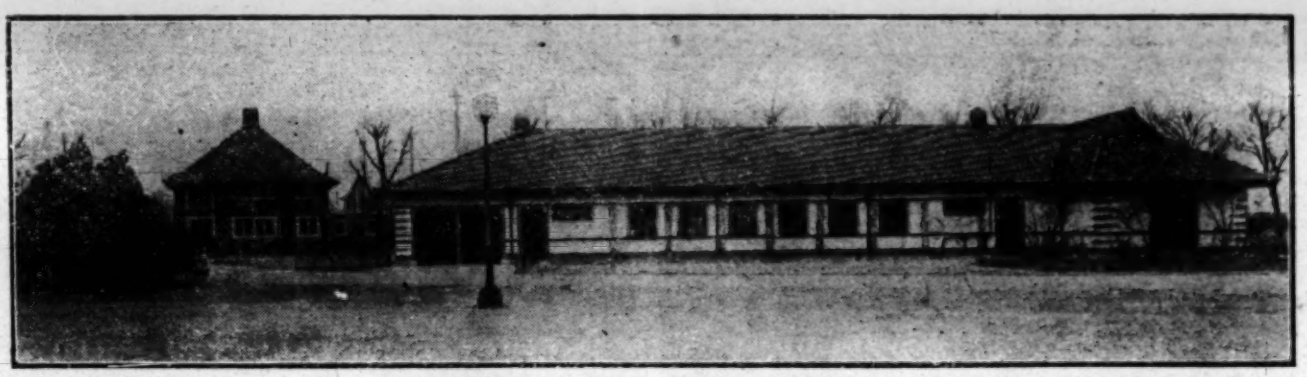

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